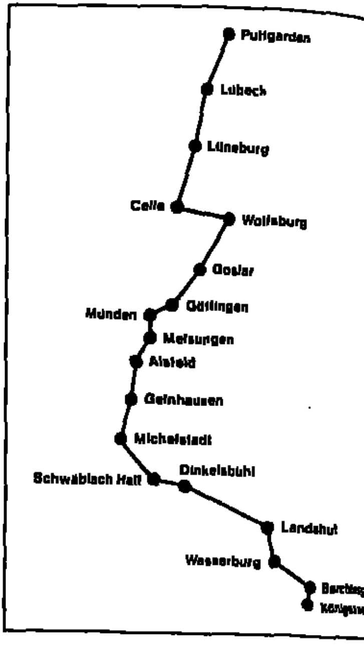
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Holiday Route – from the Alps to the Baltic



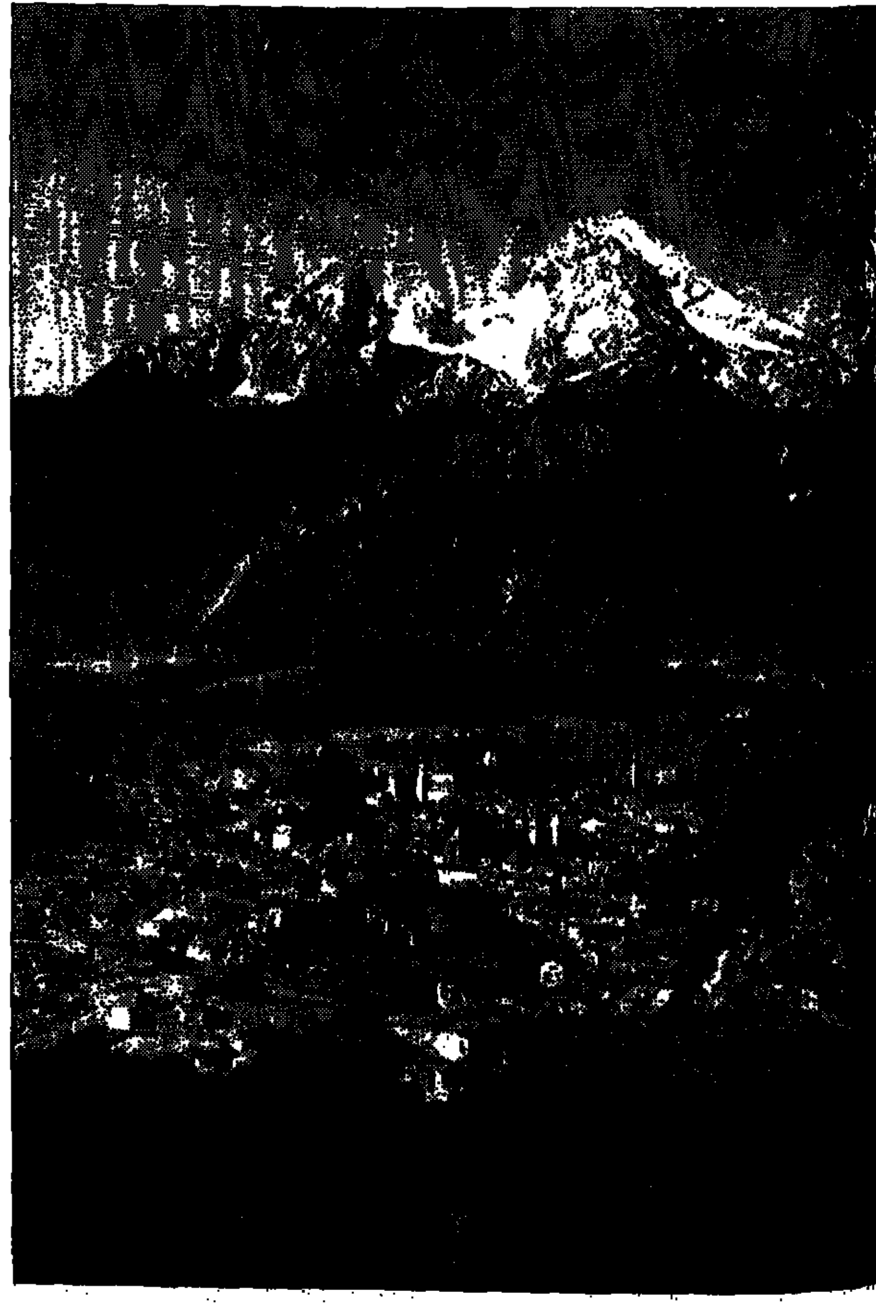




German roads will get you there, and if you plan to see as much as you can, why not travel the length of the country? From the Alpine foothills in the south via the typical Mittelgebirge range to the plains of the north, you will pass through the most varied landscapes. And so you needn't take pot luck in deciding on a route, we recommend the German Holiday Route from the Alps to the Baltic.

Start in the south with Berchtesgaden and its bob run. Maybe you have already heard tell of Landshut, a mediaeval Bavarian town with the world's largest brick-and-mortar tower. Or of Erbach in the Odenwald, with its castle and the Ivory Museum. Or of Alsfeld with its half-timbered houses, the Harz mountain towns or the 1,000-year-old-Hanseatic port of Lübeck.

Visit Germany and let the Holiday Route be your guide – from the Alps to the Baltic.





1 Lübeck
2 Melsungen
3 Schwäbisch Hall
4 Berchtesgaden





Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.

The German Tribune

Hamburg, 9 April 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1365 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
DEPOSE A BRX X

Need for Nato to take the peace initiative again

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

This year sees the 40th anniversary of both the Nato and the Federal Republic of Germany. The two events are closely linked.

The military alliance of the West and the western German post-war state were the result of efforts to prevent the political and military expansion of the Stalinist empire in the East.

The Nato alliance always had a unique and vital significance for the state along the ideological line of demarcation dividing Europe.

Nato's birthday was celebrated with all the usual pomp and ceremony in Brussels. A summit conference at the end of May designed primarily to pave the way for more disarmament is planned as the culmination of festivities.

A successful summit would more than befit the occasion, since the alliance must respond to political change to a greater extent than at any time in the past.

The consequences of this process of change will only become clear after more is known about the real prospects for Gorbachov's reforms.

As the western alliance cannot simply sit back and wait until this development has been completed it must act now. In terms of security policy the basic problem is how to retain sufficient reserves to protect Western Europe yet at the same time grasp the opportunity of mutual arms reduction.

In general political terms the ability of the West to replace the era of confrontation by an era of cooperation is at stake.

For Nato this would mean changing from being a primarily military group aiming to prevent war to being a peace alliance with a mainly political orientation.

Over the past four decades this has not happened sometimes because Nato did not want it to but more often because of the situation in East Bloc countries.

The hopes Nato pinned on Stalin's successors after 1953 remained unfulfilled for many years. The detente initiated above all by the German Ostpolitik of Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel suffered serious setbacks, for example, Brezhnev's arms policy and expansionist moves.

Detente was also impeded by attempts by the West to dictate the terms of freedom and security. Events in internal history are still stopping Nato developing one political voice and common interests.

There was de Gaulle's decision to pull France out of the military command, disputes between the Greeks and the Turks and the tug-of-war over disarmament and missile modernisation.

A major stumbling-block has been the lack of a partnership with equal rights between America and its European allies.

During all the difficult stages, from the Cold War, through the period of uneasy coexistence to detente and the first successful disarmament moves, the Germans were always a special chapter in Nato.

The alliance was basically completed when, in 1955, the Federal Republic joined. Yet German membership was always marked by a double dilemma. The Germans sought and found protection, but it was only for one "half" of Germany.

And our friends and allies also sought protection against the Germans and the historically rooted nightmare of German *Sonderwege*.

The Germans were therefore integrated into the Nato framework, and Nato was, as Karsten Voigt claimed, always an instrument to control Bonn's security policy.

In some allied areas, notably in certain circles in the USA and Britain, Germany still isn't viewed as an ally above suspicion. German Deutschlandpolitik, crusades for detente and an acknowledgement of the East Bloc's reform efforts by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, protests against low-level flying and public sympathy for Gorbachov are just some items which kindle scepticism.

There are demands for unequivocal German support for new missiles as a test of courage and loyalty; military circles, and not just foreign ones, insist on a return to the old defence staunchness.

The Federal Republic, which always has had to pay a special price in both financial and psychological terms for defence and security, has to extend its period of military service at a time of growing disarmament to stay "acceptable" for Nato.

Is the alliance a viable institution if assessed as more than just the sum total of its armament arsenals and armies?

It does not matter how often the German Nato secretary-general and others like-minded claim all disarmament ideas were born in the West and only later adopted by the East, the public feel that Nato has lost the peace initiative to the Warsaw Pact nations. The decisive factor for Nato cannot be the deployment of new missiles. Instead, it must show its ability to function as a community of intellectual and political values, a goal repeatedly stressed in Bonn, and respond to change in the East by presenting its own ideas.

No-one is going to ask the alliance to scrap all its weapons in blind faith. But it must learn to define its main tasks along political lines and work together with the East to reduce confrontation and improve cooperation and common security.

This presupposes the existence of convincing disarmament ideas for all arms categories. If the summit in May produces no more than the lowest common denominator for disarmament instead of the proclaimed "overall concept" the alliance will have started its fifth decade poorly.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 April 1989)



MEETING WITH PLO. Bonn Economic Cooperation Minister Hans Klein (left) with the PLO's Economic Affairs Minister, Abu Ala, in Tunis. They met as Herr Klein completed a tour of North Africa during which he visited Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. (Photo: Sven Simon)

IN THIS ISSUE

Kissinger back in the picture



Henry Kissinger, former security adviser and US Secretary of State and now the highly-paid head of a consultancy firm, is viewed by many people in the USA as an *eminence grise* of the new US government.

Not only is Kissinger a welcome adviser in the White House, but two of his previously closest colleagues, Snowcroft and Eagleburger, hold key positions in the Bush Administration.

This explains why what is now called the Kissinger Plan is being taken seriously.

Basically, Kissinger has done no more than to formulate what Washington (and its allies) has already set itself as a task: how should the West react to the giddy pace of developments in the East Bloc?

How can it help Poland, Hungary and the other East Bloc states win more freedom and prosperity without jeopardising peace in Europe?

Kissinger is reputed to support more intensive cooperation with the Soviet Union. He would like Moscow give its neighbours more independence. In return the West should promise not to take advantage of changes.

The Bush Administration feels uneasy about cooperation formulated in this way.

It constantly refers to joint projects and expects the Soviet Union to make concessions and show restraint in all crisis areas, in Central America, the Middle East, Kampuchea.

In Europe, however, it fearfully recalls the spirit of Yalta, the conference at which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin carved up Europe into spheres of influence.

US Secretary of State Baker said that he therefore sees no need for such agreements. What was happening in Eastern Europe was happening in any case without American influence.

But Washington's foreign-policy appraisal cannot alter the fact that cooperation between the two superpowers is the most important factor for world peace. This includes much of what Kissinger would like to formalise.

There is one topic which no-one in Washington is keen on addressing here. What is going to happen to East Germany? Baker's new press spokeswoman simply replied that she could not comment.

This could be interpreted as meaning that the minimum possible change can be expected along the inner-German border and in Berlin.

Siegfried Maruhn

(Mannheimer Morgen, 1 April 1989)

■ INTERNATIONAL

The political earthquake in the Soviet Union

The Soviet system of rule has been shaken by a political earthquake.

On Easter Sunday the country's first more or less freely contested parliamentary elections since 1917 created a completely new power situation in the Soviet Union.

The Communist party can no longer claim to have the backing of the masses for its leading role in Soviet society.

In a demonstration of radical protest even the most senior party representatives standing unopposed were ousted by the ballot paper.

The people of Kiev, Moscow and Leningrad — the three historical centres of the old and the new empire —, the Slavic and Baltic nations which were up to now worlds apart, joined forces on election day to change the one world in which they live.

They have taken their country, which has drifted into a serious economic and social crisis, to the threshold of political democratisation, the legal formation of opposition and the establishment of a regional multi-party system.

They have done this regardless of the warnings of the party apparatus.

Following his lost battle for a sweeping agrarian reform in the Central Committee plenum the Soviet people have given Gorbachov his greatest political triumph so far.

Glasnost was no mere delusion. In an unprecedented storm of protest the masses, which had been brought into disrepute as apathetic, translated the intellectuals' dream of a New Thinking, of the public settlement of conflicts, into political practice.

In what was thought to be an unalterable empire of the gulag archipelago numerous archipelagos with democratic

DIE ZEIT

mechanisms of control have emerged, created on a spontaneous basis.

Gorbachov's vision of leading the Soviet state out of the dictate of a compromising party and planning system towards a "civilian" presidency with freely operating soviets and citizen involvement has received the mandate of the voters.

This mandate, however, should not be overrated. It results from the mass protest against the delaying of perestroika rather than from the belief in its realisation.

The fateful question which arises following this historical day in the Soviet Union, therefore, is: Have the moderniser Mikhail Gorbachov, who called for the people, the populist Boris Yeltsin, whom the people called; the Baltic republics and the Russian population together got the strength and ability needed to push through this clear mandate for radical reforms against anti-reformist radicalism?

Against the provocative apparatus, growing nationalism and social unrest?

The political earthquake has made the united Communist party front pieced together by Yegor Ligachov's anti-reformist columns and the "collective leadership in all subdivisions" (ex-KGB leader Chebrikov) collapse like a house of cards.

On paper at least the election results have led to a dramatic reduction in the power of the party's dogmatic wing.

The most astonishing results were in Moscow.

The Muscovites gave the candidate Boris Yeltsin, who ran as a candidate for constituency number one, 89 per cent of the vote.

They thus chose the number one enemy of the state bureaucracy as their populist Czar, the man whom the entire party leadership had expelled in 1987 because of "damaging the unity" of the party.

During the election campaign Moscow's party and municipal administration tried to induce Yeltsin to back out of the running by means of anonyomous phone-calls and psychological terror.

Moscow's mayor Valery Saikin paid the price. He lost the first ballot against a politically inexperienced female worker, Nina Ageeva.

Yeltsin's successor as Moscow's party leader, the conservative Politburo member Lev Saikov, would have suffered very much the same fate had it not been for the one-hundred seats automatically allocated to the Communist party as a "social organisation" (a total of 750 seats are allocated to such organisations).

Like most Politburo members, including Mikhail Gorbachov, Saikov will hold one of these seats in the new Congress of People's Deputies.

In the cradle of the revolution, however, voters gave a clear vote of no confidence in Saikov's colleague, the conservative party leader of the region of Leningrad, Yuri Soloviev.

Even without any rival candidates he failed to get the 50 per cent of the vote needed for a parliamentary seat.

The party leader of the city of Leningrad, Anatoly Gerasimov, only got 15 per cent of the vote against an unknown engineer (74 per cent).

In the republic capitals Kiev (Ukraine), Minsk (White Russia) and Kishinev (Moldavia) the city's party leaders failed to get seats.

Even in the key regions of the Far East the voters clearly rejected the party's regional chairmen.

In the Baltic republics the national popular fronts degraded the Communist party to the second most powerful party.

The Lithuanian national movement, the Sajudis, won 30 of the 42 seats; the party leader backed by this group, Brazauskas, was successful, but the Prime Minister and the parliamentary president were ousted.

In Latvia the 29 candidates of the popular front won 25 of the 40 seats in the first ballot.

In Estonia the national popular front supported the almost like-minded Communist leadership in a number of constituencies; their spokesmen thus obtained over ninety per cent of the vote.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov has already announced that the demonstrations of no-confidence could lead to consequences for some party officials.

The Easter Sunday vote, however, was more than a demonstration of no confidence. Judgement was passed on a caste — and this case is unlikely to accept this verdict without a fight.

The journalist Igor Kliamkin described the voters' message to the party as follows:

"As long as the administrative system endures and flourishes, as long as reforms and personnel shifts take place within the system without affecting its foundations, there can be no real changes."

But what can Yeltsin and the minority of independent parliamentary deputies — the overwhelming majority of the deputies voted into the People's Congress are still party members — do against the "administrative system"?

The major danger for all reformist forces is that they may discover that they are unable to fulfil the sudden surge of hopes for a parliamentary counterbalance.

The 422 representatives of the Supreme Soviet, which will be taking a step towards true parliamentarism by meeting for sessions lasting several months in future, will be appointed by the 2,250 people's deputies at the end of April, not elected by the Soviet citizens.

This allows the "administrative system" to put almost everything back on to an even keel with the help of party discipline.

Almost is the operative word, since it will hardly be possible to keep Boris Yeltsin and the deputies from the Baltic republics out of the Supreme Soviet following the election outcome on 26 March.

If the party tries to do so it may risk or even provoke social unrest, which can no longer be dismissed as "street protest."

Yet even if the highest organ of state is strengthened by a number of independent candidates, and even if the Supreme Soviet controls the one-year and five-year plans more strictly in future, the planning system introduced by Stalin will remain for the time being.

And the Planning Commission, which is not subject to the control of any planning laws, will and can continue to elaborate plans, define them "more precisely" and rectify their content — without the involvement of the Supreme Soviet.

Gorbachov has been pressing for new ownership forms, private cooperatives and private leasing structures for some time now.

He has emphasised that without the restructuring of the socialist ownership structures the new methods of economical management will remain ineffective alien elements in the system.

The last Central Commitee plenum, however, tailored this into a "reform" which still affords priority to state ownership.

Boris Yelstin now seeks conflict rather than compromise with this approach.

The formula put out by the Siberian engineer resembles in its simplicity Lenin's slogan of "Bread, Peace, Land": an improvement of the overall supply situation, a radical reduction of armaments and space travel, the deprivation of the power of bureaucratic "property", and the elimination of all privileges.

Closing down corrupt stores, however, is easier than opening up new markets. Preaching justice ("The rouble of a doorman must have the same value as the rouble of a party member") is easier than breaking up the socialist system of distribution.

Yeltsin, whose authoritarian and emotional reflexes have so far been more pronounced than his democratic instincts, fulfils the secret desire of many Russians for a strong man who is able to straighten things out and improve the supply situation as well as moral standards.

The millions of votes for Yeltsin, therefore, were an expression of a desire for change rather than an acknowledgement of his own personal political competence.

Yet even this kind of support is a signal to the Communist party leadership that the people have voted against the party.

The first step which should be taken

Continued on page 3

Turkish voters send message to ruling party

Turkey's Prime Minister, Turgut Özal, has emerged as the big loser following the disastrous showing of his Motherland Party in local elections.

The party has been in government nationally since 1983 and the elections were viewed by the media and leading politicians, including Özal himself, as a test of confidence.

Özal's party, which received 36 per cent of the vote in the 1987 parliamentary elections and thus remained the strongest single party, got less than 25 per cent of the vote in the local elections.

The Social Democrat Populist Party led by Erdal Inonu and the conservative True Path Party led by Suleyman Demirel both outstripped the Motherland Party.

On the eve of the polls Özal announced that he would call an early general election if the support for his party was "unsatisfactory." This is now the case.

Özal now has no real option but to bring forward the election scheduled for 1992 if he wishes to avoid losing face. Apparently, however, he's willing to take that risk.

A new election would reduce Özal's chances of becoming president.

On the assumption that his party would do well in the local elections Ozal planned to become president in November, when Kenan Evran's presidential term expires.

It now seems highly unlikely that Ozal's Motherland Party, which currently has 292 of the 350 seats in the National Assembly, would be able to obtain an absolute majority in an early election.

Turkey has returned overnight to the representation structure which existed before the military putsch in 1980.

Inonu's socialists, Demirel's conservatives and Ozal's Motherland Party now share the cake.

In future the struggle for the biggest slice is bound to have an adverse effect on the country's political and economic stability.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 March 1989)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.

Advertising rates list No. 16
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Postmaster: send change of address to The German Tribune % MASS MAILINGS.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Ripple effect threatens foreign policy

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The government is suffering one setback after another just at a time when it needs to be strong. Its domestic crisis is beginning adversely to affect foreign policy.

The outstanding event of the first six months of 1989 will be Mikhail Gorbachov's visit to Bonn in June.

For Gorbachov, Germany still plays a key role in the improvement of East-West relations as a whole.

It is hoped that a joint declaration in Bonn will give the final seal of approval to the new chapter in bilateral relations between these two countries.

But since Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Moscow in October, he has changed his stance considerably. His conservative union (CDU and CSU) is under pressure from extremist right-wing parties.

Although these parties are themselves no threat to Bonn's foreign policy, their growing popularity is giving confidence to conservatives within the coalition.

Gorbachov will be welcomed by a host whose party will be put to the test *shortly* after his departure in two municipal elections and in the European election.

Pundits feel Kohl's political fate will depend on the outcome.

Gorbachov's visit is likely to be accompanied by plenty of national sentiment. Although most Germans support glasnost and perestroika, a big minority still views the Soviet Union with suspicion.

Above all, this minority tends to gauge Gorbachov's willingness to make concessions in terms of his stance on the German Question.

Yet no matter how cool the relationship between the Soviet Union and the GDR may have become the Soviet leader will not back down on this issue.

The climate between Bonn and East Berlin has already cooled down anyway as a result of the behaviour of the GDR.

In this situation Bonn will be generous towards Eastern Europe if it sees returns.

But what are significant concessions in the eyes of national conservatives and right-wing extremists? They lack both a sense of proportion and of reality.

The abrupt change in the domestic policy climate here could have dramatic implications for the intended normalisation of the relationship to Poland in an effort to promotereconciliation in the 50th year since the Hitler invasion.

Despite all the effort even the Schmidt government was unable to bring this about, although the Poles (and the Soviets) were to blame.

Poland now seems to be willing and able to provide a reliable basis for such a process. Not only moves towards democratisation and a fundamental economic reform justify this optimism. The more decisive factor is the emerging will to pool all national forces.

As opposed to the Soviet Union, both the intellectuals and, for the first time, the workers in the Solidarity movement are determined to grasp the chance fora lasting improvement. Poland has not given.

What better gesture could there be than for the Germans to give a helping hand in what might be the breakthrough?

Kohl is willing. Although he has quite rightly been criticised because of certain weaknesses, he has single-mindedly pursued a policy of detente.

Whether this is because of belated insights or because of pressure by his Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher does not really matter. It's the result which counts.

One of the Moscow's and Poland's major concessions, allowing a large-scale exodus of ethnic Germans, has become a real problem for Bonn.

The Schmidt government had to fight hard for this concession and provide a huge loan for the resettlement of 100,000 ethnic Germans. This achievement was rated as a success at that time.

The Poles are now willing to lot ethnic Germans foster their cultural identity to an extent once unimaginable.

But exiles organisations hereare not satisfied. They now see their big chance.

They find allies in the conservative parties who are worried about their prospects during the next elections.

This explains why they reject any form of financial assistance for Poland.

As in the field of Deutschlandpolitik, Alfred Dregger presents himself as their spokesman.

He not only warns the Chancellor and CDU chairman, but also almost threateningly announces that it is completely undecided whether Kohl will travel to Poland at all as planned for May.

There is more at stake than just the improvement of a difficult and morally *strained relationship*.

Whether Poland achieves a breakthrough to more democracy, freedom and human rights — as in Hungary — and thus obtains greater prosperity is important, perhaps decisive, for the process of restructuring in Eastern Europe as a whole.

Success in Poland would mean that East Germany would also be unable to evade such changes.

In this process, which the rest of Western Europe almost indifferently observes, the Federal Republic of Germany assumes a central role.

Any impairment means missing a historical opportunity and acting against the national German interest.

Hans Schmitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 23 March 1989)

Continued from page 2

is to drop the proceedings against Yeltsin for allegedly damaging the party's unity. If the party's reformist wing, which would like to take on the "good" experiences of capitalism, wishes to learn lessons from the election result of 26 March it need only take a closer look at the history of the European House.

In the 19th century the ruling classes were confronted by economic and political processes of change which they were no longer able to suppress.

They discovered that parliamentary constitutions and extended franchise were unavoidable, but by no means meant their decline.

The Soviet Union stands to gain substantially if at least some of the hitherto wavering party members come to the same realisation in the light of the March elections.

Christian Schmidt-Häuer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 31 March 1989)

Coalition in a crisis that breaks most of the rules

The crisis confronting the Kohl government in Bonn and the CDU flies in the face of all political experience.

Governments usually need not worry about elections if the economy is doing well.

If the money keeps on rolling in people are generally satisfied, and satisfied voters see no reason to vote governments out.

The German economy has been doing *well for seven years and there is no sign* of a downturn in 1990. But voters *are* turning their backs on the CDU — and on a large scale.

There are many explanations, most with some truth.The influx of people from other countries — regardless of whether they are ethnic German emigrants or asylum applicants — has led to frustration and fears about the future.

Trust in the honesty of CDU politicians has diminished since the Barschel affair and perpetual squabbling in Bonn, within the CDU as well as between the CDU, CSU and FDP, has turned some against the party.

They are selling their politics so poorly that the impression is gained of a complete loss of the art of political marketing.

All this, however, is an oversimplification. The centre-right coalition government which came to power in Bonn in 1982/83 after Helmut Schmidt was toppled quickly wasted opportunities.

Then, most voters gave their approval for the *Wende*, the fundamental policy change, *promised* by the conservative-liberal government. But it soon became clear that there were no clear ideas behind the catchword.

This and that was reformed and a great deal did move in the right direction. But the new shores to which Helmut Kohl and his followers had promised remained vague, as if veiled in some haze.

It is hard to get enthusiastic about going on a vague journey. The CDU's crisis is basically rooted in the lack of stirring ideas rather than in political errors — of which there have been plenty in recent years.

A well-known social philosopher was unfortunately correct in his harsh judgement that the CDU has "degenerated into a politically characterless party of conformity."

With a few exceptions, such as the resolution with which the deployment of the medium-range missiles was pushed through at the beginning of the 1980s, the government has always followed the *line of least resistance*.

Instead of showing people clear perspectives it mixed up a concoction lacking all contours.

It would be wrong to claim that nothing else is possible in a democracy. Both Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, for example, presented a political vision and were able to translate these visions into reality in many respects. The voters went along.

Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik also roused the majority of voters. Ludwig Erhard made history with his concept of the free market economy as did Konrad Adenauer with his policy of commitment to the West.

The voters have always showed their appreciation for a clearly outlined goal.

The unfortunate thing about Kohl right from the start was that he has not had the intellectual power to make a fundamental political change.

An observer who is above suspicion, the editor-in-chief of the Catholic *Herder Korrespondenz*, David Seeber, said six months ago that Kohl "usually practises compromise as if it were the end and not the means of politics."

This criticism hits the nail on the head: if compromise is the aim this aim can be neither clear nor compelling.

What makes matters worse it that the CDU does not appear to be able to realise that it lacks conceptual substance.

Its behaviour following the election defeats in Berlin and Frankfurt demonstrates this all too clearly.

If its only response to the crisis is to hand out a few more favours here and there (child benefit, student's grants, etc.) this means that it is unwilling to budge from its previous course.

The tendency to reshuffle ministerial portfolios moves in the same direction.

As if this could bring about the intellectual breakthrough, the inspiration of new ideas!

Kurt Biedenkopf rightly emphasised that the CDU's main mistake is to seek errors in organisational and personnel structures instead of "developing content-related perspectives."

Admittedly, this is easier said than done. The Social Democrats know just how difficult this is.

The SPD basically suffers from the same conceptual amorphousness as the CDU.

The only difference is that it is easier to disguise this fact if you don't have the

Hannoversche Allgemeine

responsibility of government and are not forced to take political action.

SPD leader Hans-Jochen Vogel is also anything but a charismatic figure. He is the party's administrator or manager rather than its intellectual leader.

In terms of their political programmes the parties have converged to such an extent that voters find it difficult to detect any substantial differences.

The major question is whether this lack of distinct contours is the inevitable result of the efforts by both parties to appeal to the "political centre."

This tendency appears to make both parties afraid of departing from the well-trodden paths of conventional politics.

It increases the appeal of those politicians and parties who/which attract publicity with their extremist remarks and thus give the impression of offering a new and fresh alternative.

This is not so much connected with "right-wing" and "left-wing" as with the boredom and disenchantment resulting from the prayer-wheel manner in which stereotyped party-political slogans are regurgitated.

Politics is more than just shunting trains around a marshalling yard.

People want to know where the train is heading and must be convinced that the destination is the right one.

This requires the resolution of intellectual leadership. Will this emerge? A good dose of scepticism is appropriate.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 March 1989)

■ TWO SPD POLL WINNERS

Wanted: the man whose face wasn't on the posters



Intellectually unruly ... Berlin mayor Walter Momper. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Not until the night of the election in January did Berlin SPD leader Walter Momper, 44, even dream he might ever become the city's Mayor.

He was caught unawares by the political landslide that swept the Social Democrats back into power. Initially, he felt the responsibility of putting a coalition together was a burden.

He soon warmed to a task for which enthusiasm is essential. He now leads a coalition of "Reds" and "Greens" — Social Democrats and Alternative List representatives — with a majority of three in the House.

His Cabinet consists of 10 Social Democratic and three Alternative List senators: eight women, five men.

Doubts were voiced whether this unusual line-up could be sure of the coalition discipline needed to vote each senator into office. But on the day it all went ahead smoothly.

The weeks of coalition talks were the real test of his nerves: twin-track talks with the Christian Democrats and the Alternative List, discussions with the proverbial man in the street, who was for the most part less than enthusiastic about a Red-Green coalition, handling his own party and toughly negotiating the coalition terms.

It wasn't easy, he says, and that is no exaggeration. Several members of his party's regional executive committee had been dismayed to hear that the SPD would have to form a Grand Coalition with the CDU if the Christian Democrats accepted the terms offered.

"I have seldom learnt as much as I did during the five weeks of this new situation," he says. The Alternative List was no longer the party it had been on the eve of the polls either.

Walter Momper, a man whose face the Social Democrats did not feature on election posters, feeling he had only limited value as a vote-winner, has suddenly emerged as the SPD's big hope.

He has done so initially by virtue of lining up a coalition with the Alternative List rather than with the Christian Democrats.

He is a man of many, robust qualities that come in handy for the tough tasks he faces. He is intellectually unruly, frank and pragmatic, eloquent and witty.

When he smiles, it is an ear-to-ear grin that shows him to be a shrewd operator. Yet his wit can be caustic and aggressive, and diplomacy does not seem to be his strong point.

Many Social Democrats have felt insulted and taken down a peg or two by Mayor Momper, and the Alternative List, which he (fairly successfully) sought to discipline during the coalition talks, knows just how they must have felt.

Documents listing political projects agreed by sub-committees during the coalition talks were simply spiked by the SPD leader, who dismissed them as nonsense. One such proposal he junked was the idea of scrapping the volunteer police reserve.

Yet his free and easy frankness can at times verge on the reckless. When the bargaining takes too long he has been known to suddenly cede a point, arguably a sign of impatience.

The SPD sacrificed the Academy of Sciences in this way, having failed to reach on this issue the dubious compromise formula negotiated on other points.

Whether the last word has been said on the subject is another matter.

Herr Momper started to climb the career ladder in the city's SPD at a time when Social Democrats were on the decline in Berlin.

He joined the SPD in 1967 when other young people were attracted to the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO in German), becoming Young Socialist chairman in the borough of Kreuzberg.

The APO was formed by disgruntled Social Democrats and non-SPD left-wingers when the SPD joined forces with the CDU/CSU in a Grand Coalition government from December 1966 till October 1969, leaving only the diminutive FDP on the Opposition benches in the Bonn Bundestag. It later included the class of '68 and student unrest in Western Europe and the United States.

Momper was rated a left-wing *enfant terrible* in a Berlin SPD that boasted a powerful right wing.

In the House of Representatives, of which he has been a member since 1975, he first came to attention for his sharp-tongued interjections. He also appeared in the House one hot summer's day, long before the AL was launched, not wearing a necktie.

When the SPD lost power in 1981 he became deputy leader (to Hans-Jochen Vogel) of the parliamentary party.

In 1985, after a disastrous state assembly election in which SPD support slumped to 32.4 per cent, he stood for parliamentary party leader, polling 28 out of 48 votes against Hans-Georg Lorenz.

A year later his close political associate, left-winger Jürgen Egert, resigned as SPD state chairman. Right-wingers decided to back Walter Momper as his successor, Herr Momper having moved pragmatically toward the middle of the road.

He first refused categorically, a premature and ill-advised move of the kind to which he has often been prone. A few days later he was SPD state chairman and, as a full-time politician, resigned his job as research assistant to the Historical Commission.

He devoted himself entirely to the SPD and the parliamentary party. He and campaign manager Wolfgang Nagel groomed the SPD to fight the 1989 election campaign.

Making the party fit to fight the campaign was a phrase he borrowed from his predecessor, Jürgen Egert.

His wife Annegret took leave from her job as a teacher to ensure, as Momper ironically put it, that their children would not grow up without a mother as well as without a father.

They have two daughters, one 12, the other eight.

Momper has modest origins, with trade union, but not party-political, links. His father was a cook; so was his mother.

When he was born, on 21 February 1945 in Sulingen, north Germany, his father had already been killed in action. He grew up in a shipyard area of Bremen, where his stepfather was a sign painter.

His younger half-sister became a teacher. He spent his spare time in summer with the working men's yacht club.

He read history, political science and economics in Münster, Munich and Berlin, graduating in political science at the Free University, Berlin, in 1969.

He is a dyed-in-the-wool Social Democrat who long kept his distance from the Alternative List. He realised they were there, but did not feel attracted to them in any way. Now, in the circumstances, he feels bound to try and work out what makes his coalition partner tick.

He has remained true to Kreuzberg even though he stood in Neukölln last time to be sure of a seat.

He has lived there since 1967 when he first came to Berlin, and he plans to stay there. He is now co-owner of a block in Fichtestrasse where he lives and which he and friends joined forces to buy.

He has no intention of moving into the Governing Mayor's official res-

Continued on page 5

Backing up the intellect with meditation



Ran a marathon campaign ... Frankfurt victor Volker Hauff. (Photo: Poly-Press)

Immediately after losing to CDU Mayor Walter Wallmann in the 1985 Frankfurt local-government polls, Social Democrat Volker Hauff says he decided he was going to lead the SPD into battle again for control of the city council.

Yet Herr Hauff, a 48-year-old former Minister of Research and Transport in Bonn, felt he couldn't simply wait in the wings as Shadow Mayor.

He has now achieved his ambition. Backnang-born Hauff, who still has an unmistakable Swabian accent, could rest assured as soon as the first computer forecast indicated that he could at least be sure of an SPD-Green majority in Frankfurt.

An economics and sociology graduate, he never planned to assume responsibility at so early an age; it just happened. "I was always the youngest," he recalls.

He seems to have no difficulty in switching from the Federal government to local government in Frankfurt. In a talk show at the city's Alte Oper he recently described politics in Bonn as "somewhat abstract and anaemic."

He accordingly welcomes the prospect of returning to a more comprehensible vantage-point. "It is in keeping with my mentality," he says, "to see a situation, to grasp it and to devote myself entirely to it."

Always well-dressed, he could readily be taken for a company executive. Yet in a questionnaire in the magazine section of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* he said he would soonest be mayor of Frankfurt, a contradictory, fascinating, cosmopolitan and, since Walter Wallmann's departure, liberal city once more.

He has moved from Backnang to Frankfurt via Bonn and Cologne, where he still has a home and his wife, a social worker, and their two children live.

He was elected to the Bundestag on the Hesse state list in 1987, standing in Hans Matthöfer's former Frankfurt constituency, where his share of the vote took a fair tumble.

Herr Hauff learnt his lesson (he has always been a good learner). He most strikingly reappraised his position on fuel and power policy in the wake of Chernobyl.

He announced his intention of standing for mayor nearly 18 months before the poll. Last autumn he stood down as deputy leader of the SPD parliamentary party in Bonn to concentrate on regaining power for the Social Democrats in Frankfurt.

Saying he had nailed his colours to the mast in Frankfurt, he realised he would suffer a serious personal political setback if he were to lose. So he left as little as he could to coincidence.

In a municipal marathon he toured the suburbs to find out what people wanted.

The SPD's election campaign, geared entirely to the good-looking, intellectual Swabian, included a healthy mixture of politics, the arts and showmanship, yet never threatened to become too highbrow. It upstaged the CDU's campaign.

Hauff is a practising Protestant who has learnt Zen Buddhist meditation techniques. "They have made me cooler, calmer and more collected," he says, "but not indifferent or unconcerned."

He sees no reason why CDU officials should not keep their jobs in what seems sure to be an SPD-Green administration. He might, for instance, retain the services of CDU Deputy Mayor Hans-Jürgen Moog, who took a dim view of his party's campaign emphasis on keeping foreigners out. He was also the only CDU leader to congratulate the winners on election night.

Where does computer specialist Hauff, an ex-IBM man and author of computer manuals, plan his priorities in Frankfurt?

He will concentrate on housing, cultural variety and rectifying mistakes made in granting planning permission for office blocks and in planning transport.

He feels the municipal administration, a "modern service industry," has serious shortcomings. It is, he says, still in the age of steam.

Heinrich Halbig

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 14 March 1989)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Where economics and ecology intersect

In the dawn of the decade, in October 1981, the heads of state and government of eight industrialised and 14 developing countries met in Cancun, Mexico, for the first North-South summit.

It was a pompous event intended to usher in a decade of cooperation, progress and solidarity with the Third World. On balance it can be said to have been a decade of disappointed hopes.

A mere year later Mexico, the host country, was on the brink of bankruptcy and threatened to drag the entire international economy down with it.

Politicians and bankers averted this collapse, but hopes of a breakthrough in development policy were dashed.

The 1980s became the debt crisis decade. Living standards declined drastically in Latin America, new loans were not floated, the domestic situation in the countries concerned grew increasingly unstable.

Black Africa grew progressively more impoverished.

The latest unrest and bloodshed in Venezuela is a further pointer to how dramatic the situation is.

"In 1989," says Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, "there will either be a change in approach to our debt problems or an end to democracy in the region."

Nearly eight years after the Cancun summit Willy Brandt, as chairman of the UN's North-South Commission, plans to arrange a second Cancun.

He has written identical letters to Presidents Bush and Gorbachov calling on them to endorse and attend a fresh North-South conference next year.

He feels the time is ripe and is encouraged in this belief by Norwegian Premier Gro Harlem Brundtland, French President François Mitterrand, former World Bank president Robert McNamara and others.

East-West detente and the relaxation of regional tension in Afghanistan and Angola could pave the way for the Soviet Union playing a constructive part in a fresh conference.

Since President Bush assumed office in Washington the United States has appeared to take a more enlightened approach to North-South affairs.

Even though nothing eventually came of it, US Secretary of State James Baker did, after all, submit the first serious plan to solve the sovereign debt crisis in 1985.

Herr Brandt envisages the conference concentrating on environmental protection and development. Ecology and economy in the Third World? They seemed to be irreconcilable contradictions; is a solution now in sight?

An ecological catastrophe on a global scale is imminent in the developing countries, with toxic waste from the industrialised world vanishing into uncontrolled waste dumps and the tropical rain forest increasingly falling foul of industry, large-scale farmers and the hunger for land of impoverished smallholders.

Environmental protection is bedevilled by both the economic interests of the rich and the nationalism of the poor countries.

"The Amazon Basin is not an ecological reserve of mankind; it belongs to us," says Brazilian Foreign Minister Roberto de Abreu Sodré. The dramatic nature of the clash between ecology and economy in conditions of poverty is self-evident.

The protection of nature reserves, the observation of strict environmental standards in industry or the modernisation of outdated plant first hit either the living standards of the general public or the development potential of the economy.

For people whose living standards have just been halved on account of the debt crisis environmental protection would seem to be a superfluous luxury for the rich.

The poor countries may be destroying their future by uncontrolled depletion of natural resources, but a starving man has no time to worry about what he will have to eat in a year's time.

Swift progress toward a pattern of development that eases the pressure on resources cannot be achieved without sacrifices being made by the industrialised countries.

What shape these sacrifices may take and what obligations the poor countries ought to undertake are issues with which a fresh North-South summit must deal.

So far the economists have banked mainly on debt-to-nature swaps, or debt waivers in return for ecological self-restraint.

The idea was initially put forward by US ecologists, then taken up by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl at last year's Western economic summit in Toronto.

Freiburg political scientist Dieter Oberndörfer advised the Bonn government to pioneer debt remission in return for protection of the tropical rain forest.

Initial attempts to put this idea into practice were made in Costa Rica and Ecuador. Environmental groups bought heavily-discounted titles to these countries' debts in return for rain forest reserves.

Similar proposals have been suggested in Europe. Poland would like to convert the German Federal government's 1975 loan into zloty and invest the cash mainly in environmental protection.

At first glance this is a striking idea. The industrialised countries will ease the debt burden that weighs so heavily on the poor countries while at the same time making a contribution toward environmental protection — in the form they no longer hold or, in many cases, can realistically hope ever to reclaim.

There is no such thing as a good deal that costs nothing. Closer scrutiny shows the scope for debt-to-nature swaps is strictly limited.

Converting debts into local currency fuels the fires of inflation, so it can only be undertaken on a small scale.

Environmental self-restraint commitments undertaken under the pressure of poverty are of strictly limited value and, in a state resolved to ensure respect for its national sovereignty, can only to a limited extent be imposed on the population.

In other words, it won't work unless the industrialised countries make genuine sacrifices. Debt remission must be much more far-reaching than is possible within the framework of mere debt conversion.

As long as countries have to plough over one third of their export earnings into debt funding other moves make very little sense.

If the rich countries in the northern hemisphere are to ensure their credibility they must naturally tackle their own environmental problems and not just try to export them to the Third World.

No-one who seeks to protect ecological resources in the southern hemisphere can deny that environmental protection is bound to make inroads into national sovereignty. Viewed in this light the Amazon no more belongs to the Brazilians alone than the Rhine belongs to the Germans, the Swiss or the French.

The IMF, the World Bank and Gatt are instruments established after the Second World War by which countries' reciprocal economic claims can be reconciled in a fairly orderly manner.

Maybe a North-South summit might succeed in establishing a framework for reconciling ecological claims. Given the dramatic direction developments are taking, it might well be worth trying.

Nikolaus Piper

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 March 1989)

Continued from page 4

ence in up-market Grunewald. Mayor Diepgen, his CDU predecessor, can stay there as far as he is concerned.

He frankly says he has nothing in common with Herr Diepgen politically. Yet that isn't meant to sound too much of a brush-off. Sounding a more conciliatory note, he says he can best imagine talking personally with his predecessor about the children — father to father, as it were.

Brigitte Grunert

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 15 March 1989)

Please mail to:
Axel Springer Verlag AG, DIE WELT, WELT am SONNTAG
Anzeigenabteilung, Postfach 30 58 30, D 2000 Hamburg 36

I am interested in real estate/investment advertising in Germany.

Please make me a quotation for "The Great Combination"

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND
WELT am SONNTAG

Name/Firm: ______

Address: ______

Third World cannot pay the price

At the first UN environmental protection conference, held in Stockholm 17 years ago, one Third World delegate said his country would welcome a modicum of environmental pollution as standing for a flourishing economy, jobs, high tax revenue and the prospect of affluence for the masses.

The conflict of old between economy and ecology is much more readily apparent in the developing world than in our own. The poor simply can't afford a pollution-free environment.

Many Third World countries may have environmental protection legislation ranging from passable to excellent, but they often also have first-rate labour legislation that stands in stark contrast to the depressing labour market reality.

It is hardly surprising that eight Amazon Basin states have energetically told those who want to save the tropical rain forest to mind their own business.

When the rich countries urge the poor to protect the Earth's green lung, South America sees it not as an expression of shock at the increasingly clear consequences of this brutal attack on nature but as a revised version of imperialist conceit.

The industrialised countries have not only done themselves serious ecological damage; they also export their toxic waste to the Third World. So how can they morally justify criticising the destruction in the Amazon Basin?

And how can they insist on the developing world forgoing hard currency earnings without untying the noose of sovereign debts?

These are reasonable arguments even though they in no way detract from the earnest of exhortations to conserve nature.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 March 1989)

■ LABOUR

A paradox: both jobs and workers in short supply

Unemployment, especially long-term unemployment, is still high, yet there are, paradoxically, a great many vacancies for skilled people.

Heribert Späth, head of the German Trades and Handicrafts Association, says there is a shortage of 400,000 qualified staff and over 60,000 vacancies for apprentices seem sure not to be taken up this year.

In some parts of the country skilled men cannot be had for love nor money. In Bavaria alone there is a shortfall of 100,000 skilled tradesmen and craft workers.

The shortage extends to other sectors too. Large firms such as Siemens or Daimler-Benz are having to advertise on a large scale to meet staff requirements. Yet 360,000 skilled workers are registered as unemployed in the Federal Republic.

That, of course, is the paradox. Unemployment is still virtually unchanged, at 2.3 million, and one unemployed person in three has been out of work for over a year.

Yet job vacancies cannot be filled, and company expansion plans have to be cancelled or postponed because manpower is simply not available.

In the latest German business survey by Ifo, the Munich economic research institute, four per cent of manufacturing industry companies questioned said output was hampered by labour shortages.

In some areas and industries the figures were much higher. In Bavaria eight per cent of firms say they can't meet demand for lack of manpower; the figure for the engineering industry is 13, for the clothing industry eight per cent.

"In periods of overemployment such as the early 1970s," says an Ifo expert, Herr Gattinger, "the figure was as high as 50 per cent. But in those days unemployment was virtually non-existent."

What has gone wrong? Do the 2.3 million unemployed not include the right people for the jobs that are on offer? Are firms exaggerating? Or are the labour exchanges inefficient? The employers have gone on to the offensive. Herr Späth says it is absurd to argue, as many do, that we have such high unemployment because there is not enough work to go round.

The official figure of 200,000 vacancies was, he said, well below the reality. Yet employers were vague about the exact number of jobs on offer.

Guesswork ranged from one million to one and a half million. The Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg estimates the true number of vacancies to be about 600,000.

The fact is that many firms have given up notifying the labour exchange when vacancies arise. The Labour Office's research unit says only one vacancy in four is notified and only one in five is filled with the assistance of the labour exchange.

Companies are increasingly relying on their own initiative. A survey by the German Economic Institute, Berlin, shows one new employee in three to be hired as a result of newspaper advertisements.

Twenty per cent of vacancies are filled from unsolicited job enquiries. In some sectors friends and relatives of members of staff account for many new recruits.

Only 19 per cent of new hirings were found to be due to referrals from the labour exchange.

Even more drastic findings are reported by Creditreform, a credit rating agency. Sixty-five per cent of trade and craft employers polled said they were looking for staff, but only 10 per cent felt they were likely to be sent what they needed by the labour exchange.

Even so, high unemployment apart, we often tend to forget how flexible the German labour market still is. Between five and six million people a year switch jobs, and last year nearly two million unemployed found jobs via the labour exchange.

Seventy-five per cent of vacancies notified were filled. "I don't see any shortcomings," says Heinrich Franke, president of the Federal Labour Office.

"The more vacancies are reported," he adds, "the greater the number of job opportunities for the unemployed. Rather than prematurely and unjustifiably criticising the labour exchange, employers would do better to notify us of all their needs."

More initiative certainly seems to be needed. No matter how much movement there may be in the labour market, the number of registered unemployed has remained steady. And the number of long-term unemployed is steadily increasing.

In the past 10 years the number of registered unemployed has trebled, while the number of people out of work for over a year has increased more than fivefold to nearly 700,000, or roughly one in three.

They have long ceased to consist solely of "hard-core cases" such as over-50s or the unskilled; 300,000 have job qualifications and 320,000 are under 40.

Yet most companies still see poor qualification of job applicants as the main reason why they are unable to fill vacancies.

In the survey by the Institute of German Industry 84.9 per cent of firms mentioned inadequate qualifications, while 43.1 per cent said applicants were unwilling to meet special requirements such as shift work or Saturday working.

So instead of hiring extra staff four out of five companies questioned said they were trying to make do by working overtime. Every other firm was trying to bridge the gap by reshuffling its staff, while one in three admitted to having had to turn down orders for lack of capacity.

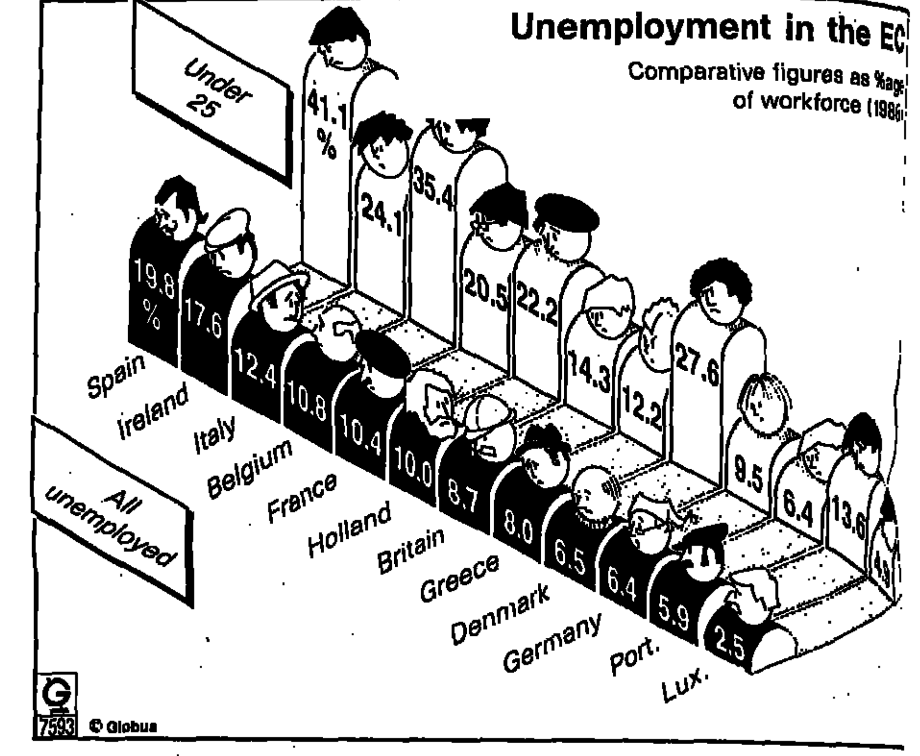
There can be no doubt that many opportunities of creating new jobs are being missed. Yet labour market experts increasingly feel that both employers and job applicants are reacting inflexibly.

Structural differences in the labour market are neither a new phenomenon nor a specifically German one. Experience elsewhere, in the United States for instance, shows that there are other ways of solving the problem.

Reinhard Ebert, an employers' federation labour market expert: "We will not solve the problem merely by rebasing the statistics, but a better database might clarify the situation."

Margarita Chiari

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 March 1989)



Changes in the workforce between 1983 and 1988

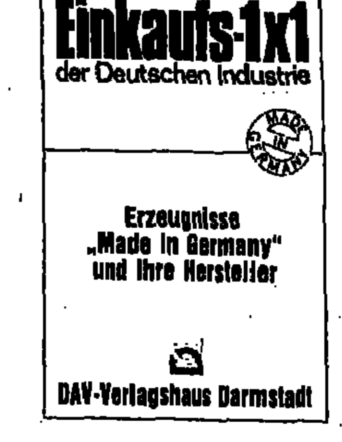
Increase or decrease in %

Number of new jobs

USA +14.2 % (+14.4 M); Britain 8.4 (+1.97 M); Switz. 7.8 (+250,000); Spain 7.5 (+820,000); Japan 4.9 (+2.82 M); Austria 4.2 (+130,000); Sweden 4.1 (+170,000); Germany 3.4 (+840,000); Italy 3.0 (+620,000); France -0.6 (-120,000)

7542 © Globus — Source: OECD

220,000 suppliers of 75,000 products 'made in Germany'



Who manufactures what?

Find suppliers and products, send for quotations, compare prices, track down special sources of supply, cut costs by buying at lower prices.

This is a reference work every buying department should have at the ready.

Easy to use, just like an encyclopaedia:

Products, including 9,000 trade marks, are arranged alphabetically, complete with manufacturer's or supplier's address.

A telephone number is listed for each supplier.

1,400 pages A4, indexed in English and French.

Price: DM98.44 post free in Germany, DM107 cif abroad.

Air mail extra.

Order direct from us or from your regular bookseller.

DAV-Verlagshaus
Postfach 11 04 52
D-6100 Darmstadt
Federal Republic of Germany

Tel.: (0 61 51) 3 91-0

■ EUROPE 1992

Motor industry in gear to take on the Japanese

An Italian and a German were walking in the forest. Suddenly they were confronted by a lion.

Without delay the Italian put on running shoes. "What's the point of that?" asked the German. "Even in running shoes we can't get away from him."

Running away the Italian replied: "I only have to run faster than you."

Daniel Goeudevert tells this joke when he is explaining how the various European car manufacturers react to the Japanese threat.

He is Flemish, has a French passport and is the boss of the American Ford group in Cologne, the second largest and most profitable car manufacturers in the world.

He is not only taking the rise out of the Italian competition with his joke. Others apart from Fiat, owned by the Agnelli family, are put under strain by the competition posed by the Japanese.

As well as the Italians the French, Renault and Peugeot, and their competitors in Britain, Spain and Portugal, keep Japanese manufacturers such as Nissan, Toyota, Mazda, Mitsubishi, Honda and so on, at bay through state-imposed quotas on car imports from the Far East.

Only the Germans have not covered themselves. The Federal Republic is the only European Community member with a strong motor industry, and it is the only one which from the beginning has allowed Japanese car imports into the country almost without hindrance of any kind.

Daimler-Benz and BMW are not involved much in the Japanese competition — there is little challenge from Japan for these de luxe models. But the mass-production makes such as Volkswagen, Ford and Opel have taken on the Japanese competition and have made headway through their better performance.

Demanding

Late in the day the Federal Republic market is now regarded as the most difficult and demanding of all. Any manufacturer who wants to make an impression must supply top-quality vehicles.

Maintaining this unusual position would be the best guarantee for competitivity in the future and for the security of every sixth workplace, which is directly or indirectly involved in the motor industry.

But that will not add up to much in the end, for European reasoning obliges the successful West German car industry to follow the bad practices of Fiat, Peugeot and Renault. The German industry can only dilute the effects of these practices.

A united front to counter the Japanese competition has become vital because of the single European market, scheduled to come into effect in 1992, when all the differences between the 12 members of the European Community will be evened out.

Until now the Italians have permitted only 3,300 Japanese cars into Italy annually; France limits Japanese imports to three per cent of the total number registered, and Britain 11 per cent.

These various protective measures cannot remain when the single European market has been established — everyone agrees that.

Every car industry executive, however, expects that there will be new import barriers in 1992, this time encircling the whole of the 12 members of the European Community. The Japanese share this expectation.

The most likely arrangement will be that Japanese car imports will be frozen at the present level of one million vehicles per year, possibly through a neat self-limitation agreement.

This would give protection to Daimler-Benz, BMW, Volkswagen, Opel and Ford. They would be lined up with anxious manufacturers such as Fiat, Renault and Peugeot. Their executives see no hope of keeping the Japanese at bay without protection.

Raymond Levy, Renault president, recently admitted Renault's position of inferiority. He said: "We are dealing with competitors whose efficiency, profitability, production costs, quality and promptness in the development of new models is very superior. I am speaking of the Japanese."

Umberto Agnelli, Fiat's vice-president, is no longer in doubt. He said: "All car manufacturers in the European Community understand that we cannot get by without such a limit on Japanese car imports."

Admittedly Agnelli looks for the lack of competitiveness on his own doorstep. He said: "Production requirements, manufacturing costs and the social system between us and Japan are profoundly different."

Last year 30 million vehicles were sold in the Common Market, the largest market for automobiles in the world. The fears about the Japanese rather knocks on the head all hopes that the coming sealing off of the European Market will only be a temporary arrangement, until the industry is fit to take on the Japanese.

Agnelli, along with the French, Spanish and Portuguese, intend to keep "Fortress Europe" going for a long time so that they can cultivate their strange ideas about competition.

The "Fortress Europe" idea is also popular with Jacques Calvet, Peugeot president, not the blessings of free international trade. Calvet's credo is: "If you want a Europe, you have to decide in favour of Europe and not hang on to any particular preferences."

Calvet regards inexpensive car imports from Japan such a preference, for instance. They must be kept out because they endanger jobs in European car factories.

Using more sophisticated logic, Calvet said: "The consumer is not only a consumer but also a producer, who needs an income. When there are no more jobs in Europe, then there are no more consumers."

Is the "Fortress Europe" going to be the refuge for an ailing car industry? German manufacturers are already defending themselves against such an idea. They are the only ones in the Old World who have been able to hold their own internationally to some extent against the Japanese.

Because of this Daimler-Benz, BMW, Volkswagen and Porsche have the most to lose by the establishment of the single European market. There are two reasons for this.

Firstly, the West Germans are the only manufacturers who have been successful on the Japanese domestic market. Seventy per cent of cars imported into Japan are of Federal Republic manufacture.

Thus Japanese retaliatory measures against the "Fortress Europe" idea could in effect only harm German manufacturers.

The second reason carries a lot more weight. Without the stimulation of Japanese competition within the Federal Republic, Daimler-Benz, BMW, Volkswagen, Opel and Ford would inevitably lose their lead in productivity and quality, a lead they still have in Europe and which can only be achieved in the Federal Republic, despite high wages and benefits.

Surprisingly enough, despite these serious disadvantages, German car industry bosses have, with few exceptions, not only gone along with a single European market without internal barriers, but also at the same time the dismantling of external import restrictions. No-one will say this loudly and clearly, however.

Mainly in his statements abroad Carl H. Hahn, head of Volkswagen, probably out of consideration for the Italians and the French, cautiously speaks of a "transitional period before the Japanese have free access to our markets."

Ford's Goeudevert says: "The Japanese must be subject to rules for fair and balanced trade." That sounds like imposing limitations voluntarily.

Robert Eaton, president in Europe of General Motors, regards trade barriers against the Japanese as inevitable. If national limits were lifted without any replacement, he believes that the Japanese share of the market would rise from its present eleven per cent to 13 per cent, which would mean the loss of 300,000 jobs.

"It is easy to see that the Japanese would become the prime beneficiaries of the single European market," Eaton said.

It must be borne in mind that top German manufacturers export two-thirds of their production. A position paper produced for the executive board of a major German car manufacturer recently showed how far top producers have moved away from the basic ideas of free trade, bearing in mind the single European market.

The paper stated: "In our view it does not mean a renunciation of this 'free trade position' if at the same time one rejects restraints on destructive competition from the Japanese.

"As every democracy has to live with the fact that citizens do not mix up freedom with anarchy, so free international trade lives from the fact that participants in the trade regard each other as partners and not as fierce opponents."

This difference between unrestrained, free and fair competition, which is not taught at any university in the world, is not comprehended by Michael Gernert, managing director of Toyota Deutschland.

He said: "Japanese manufacturers have increased their share of the German private car market from 2.4 to five per cent between 1977 and 1987. Over the same period German car manufacturers have increased their production by almost six million vehicles.

"This growth rate is three times greater than the increase in the imports of Japanese cars. Where is the ruinous competition here, who is taking something away from someone else, where do you find the loss of workplaces?"

Before he joined Toyota, Gernert sold Volkswagen and Audi cars in the United States and Japan.

He recommends that his European colleagues should concentrate more on the positive aspects of the single European market instead of on restrictions on competition.

A study, especially commissioned for the European Community Commission, estimates that the probable cost savings by dismantling frontier formalities and technical standardisation should be DM11.5bn annually, in arithmetical terms every European-made car should be DM900 cheaper.

Furthermore car sales should increase by about 575,000 vehicles.

Gernert said: "An economy cannot be protected by sealing it off, but by tackling the challenges the market presents."

A recent Daimler-Benz study was equally unenthusiastic about trade barriers. This study pointed out that the limitations imposed on Japanese car imports by the Americans since the beginning of the 1980s have done more harm than good.

Due to limited competition American purchasers have to fork out between $3.25bn and $5bn extra a year.

The study showed that the American restriction on imports had affected more than just the Japanese and have led to "a fundamental strategic realignment, which will be of considerable significance for the future development of the international car industry."

In the first place the limits pep up the production of more medium class and de luxe cars at a faster rate than was originally planned, so as to make quotas more profitable.

Secondly, the Japanese look around for means of avoiding self-limitations in their factories in the USA.

Honda, Nissan, Toyota and Mazda produced more than 700,000 vehicles last year in the US. By 1993 two million Japanese cars will be made in America.

The Japanese are now taking precautions should their sales in Europe be braked.

Nissan has been building the medium-class "Bluebird" in Sunderland in Britain since 1986. Shortly the small "Micra" will also be built there.

By 1992 Nissan, Japan's second largest car manufacturer, will be selling 300,000 cars produced in Europe to European motorists.

For the past six years Honda have been cooperating with Austin Rover and lets the British produce their own models.

Other Japanese manufacturers are planning production in Europe and are looking for suitable locations for plant.

All things being equal Toyota will make a decision for a green-field factory in Britain, which should produce 200,000 cars.

The Japanese invasion has speeded up the discussion about import quotas. The French and Italians look upon this keen activity with uneasiness.

They would prefer demanding that Japanese cars manufactured in Europe were 80 per cent of European manufacture. Peugeot president Calvet demands 100 per cent. This would make the competition all that more difficult.

But the Japanese have a trump card

Continued on page 9

DIE ZEIT

■ TOURISM

The traveller's buck stops here: not all surf and sunshine

Berlin's giant Congress Centre, which has the look of an aluminium suitcase lost in the midst of feeder roads from the motorway, could be regarded as a symbol of the International Tourist Exchange which takes place there annually.

The astonishing dimensions of the building become more obvious as one approaches it.

Equally, one is astonished at the tourist trade, which has been underestimated for a long time but which has developed almost furtively into an important economic factor.

Hasn't tourism been mistaken for an industry involved in just fun, leisure and harmless amusement?

Now tourism has become the world's third largest export industry, following close on the heels of oil and the car industry; and tourism is pushing inexorably into second place, as Mayor Diepgen said in his opening speech, not without making allusions to the deplorable consequences that implied.

Willibald Pahr, general secretary of the World Tourism Organisation, spoke proudly of tourism's place in the world, but also with scepticism about the less favourable aspects of an industry which is no less predatory and destructive to the environment than other sectors.

Tourism today is in a dilemma. It constitutes a threat to nature with hotel construction, aviation and masses of people, nature which is one of its most important, if not its most important, "article for sale."

Tourism can admittedly exert a beneficial pressure on countries and governments, which until now have not been involved in defending the environment, but it is doubtful if tourism as such can make up for the harm it does.

Yet should the countries of the Third World be forced to earn as much as possible from tourism so as to be able to pay their foreign debts?

Loris José Isatto, the third speaker at the opening ceremony of the 23rd International Tourist Exchange, spoke for COTAL, an association of Latin American tour operators. He had no illusions about the shady side of tourism.

He called to mind the economic power of the branch, without pride or scepticism, more with frustration and anxiety.

He claimed that 50 per cent of all tourist countries benefited from 90 per cent of all tourist receipts. But Latin America was part of the remaining 50 per cent of countries less privileged. These countries only handled nine per cent of the total receipts from tourism.

In view of this situation and the grave economic problems which beset Latin America, he could not indulge in the kind of scruples which are harboured in intellectual circles in Europe.

It was characteristic that Isatto saw a chance for the member states of his organisation to gain more from tourism than before by deregulation and economic liberalisation, by doing away with visa requirements and currency restrictions, while spoiled Europeans called for limitations, controls and limits to growth.

Criticising tourism is a luxury which those can allow themselves who do not earn a living from it.

The general public took part in a discussion by a group named "Tourismus mit Einsicht," (Tourism with understanding). The audience was made up in the main of representatives from the universities and the media. There were also sociologists, critics of our society and the advocates of minorities and the oppressed.

It was almost risible how the people of the Third World, who so urgently need the income tourism provides, seemed to be to the public and the speakers the victims, indeed the ones persecuted by tourism.

It is sufficient to have seen the eagerness with which tourists have intruded into Indian villages, even into homes, to take pictures, to realise that this is no laughing matter. The idea of what tourism without any kind of understanding would lead to is horrifying.

It is obvious that mass tourism of our times has had the same influence on the culture and social structures of foreign peoples as that exercised by conquest and colonialism.

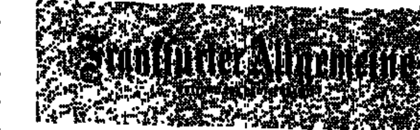
The destruction of the cultural environment is probably one of the most serious effects of tourism.

The people who are photographed and looked at like exhibits in a museum end up regarding themselves as something unusual, something for the camera lens.

They feel themselves disoriented from all that seems natural to them, and it is easy to understand their repugnance at being photographed, widespread among many people, even if their repugnance does not spare them from the effects of the photography.

What is here important is the intention. Tourism, in fact, has probably contributed far less to world civilisation and to the propagation of the ideals of western culture than have television and industrialisation.

Undoubtedly the Tourist Exchange in Berlin does a lot to encourage the process of standardisation and uniformity, blurring the differences between cultures. The tourist countries direct



their efforts towards the public in the West, from which the mass of tourists come.

No significance should be attached to the fact that many arguments raised against tourism have long become clichés and are on the lips of officials and tour operators at every possible occasion.

It was something of a relief to hear a woman tour operator say during the discussion: "Who thinks of rules when going off on holiday?"

Tourism is a tough branch. For a long time there has been a bitter battle between tour operators and holiday countries. The public is subjected to waves of advertising.

The Berlin Tourist Exchange is quite revealing in this respect, perhaps more so than the organisers realised.

Vietnam, for instance, does not laud the merits of socialism, but attracts attention with a miniature of a pagoda and tells "its capitalist enemies in the West" that they are "warmly welcome." The East Bloc countries have for a long time avoided references to ideological propaganda. The Soviet Union tries to win over individual tourists, which the state organisation does not like all that much because the individual is so much more difficult to control. Nevertheless a brochure has been produced for them, promising them every kind of facility. It would be a mistake to attribute this to Gorbachov and glasnost. Hard currency has for a long time taken precedence over ideology, and the East Bloc countries have for a long time used symbols which run the risk of being misunderstood and which are even counter-revolutionary.



Something for everyone at tourist exchange in Berlin: Piper of Hamelin meets a spiritual brother, a tourist gu[ide] from Papua New Guinea. (Photo: [illegible])

The states of the old Habsburg, Austro-Hungarian monarchy, for instance, as a matter of course got together. This was certainly not planned but came from the sense of nostalgia among Westerners; Austria and Czechoslovakia had set up a coffee house together, and Austria and Poland equally advertised horses, riding and the pleasures of hunting.

East Germany and Austria were showing off culturally together with castles and music, and the East German calendar of theatre and musical events had its almost identical counterpart on Hamburg's stand.

Europe seems to be a unity as regards tourism, with little to do with politics. West Berlin and Poland, for instance, go in for jazz, modern art and the avant-garde.

The West Berlin stand was done out in black, white and red; black and white, the colours of Prussia, and red the colour of the German Empire. Not a trace of gold.

Anyone who tried to read anything into the symbols visible on the stands, intentional or accidental, would come to some strange conclusions.

The Islamic countries were not prudish in any way. The visitor could see on their stands beautiful harem girls, unveiled, sitting on the steps giving coquettish glances to passers-by.

The Canadians advertised uninhibitedly with military display, a fort and sentries. The Brazilians and the Caribbean countries advertised with bikini-clad girls, which could give tourists naughty ideas, referred to by the "Tourismus mit Einsicht" group and underlined by the exhibits on display at their small stand.

The Austrians displayed a rock face, which seemed to be incessantly crawling with girl mountaineers going up and coming down, giving a pleasant picture of the Alps invaded by tourists.

Everything is done to attract tourists at any price. If there is no crying need for hard currency one wants tourists as "ambassadors of good will."

Representatives from South Africa and Israel found themselves following similar lines of argument. The South Africans complained of the image the media has given of them for years, the Israelis of the poor press they have been getting more recently.

Both countries claimed that tourists who had been once, returned, and were their best ambassadors in countries where they, South Africa or Israel, were looked upon with distrust.

This is surprising. We are asked to listen to the verdicts of tourists who are generally regarded as being arrogant and filled with feelings of resentment.

There was a great variety of opinions expressed at the Tourist Exchange and they could only be fully appreciated when it was remembered that economic interests and propaganda, ideological attitudes and marketing calculations were used to draw in the tourists.

There is always plenty of hypocrisy when money and politics are brought into play.

The only thing that matters is business, and the avidity and battle for a slice of the tourist cake, and everyone fights everyone else for that.

Among the unintentional symbols at this years's International Tourist Exchange this scene was characteristic.

The guests who took part in the opening ceremony were invited to wine and hors d'oeuvres afterwards. The guests on the escalator descending to the foyer below could see the tables loaded with canapes and so on. A minute later everything had disappeared.

The time spent on the descending escalator was time enough for thousands of hors d'oeuvres to disappear. For those who were the last to arrive below, the small eats must have seemed like a mirage, enveloped in cigarette smoke.

The tour operators certainly had a good appetite and woe betide the world! Soldier ants could not have devoured a horse's cadaver so quickly.

Jens Jessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 9 March 1989)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Toxic-waste debate reveals the ugly face of affluence

Who stands to benefit from the international convention agreed in Basle on cross-border shipments of toxic waste and their disposal?

In tough last-minute negotiations industrialised and developing countries each accused the other of being the beneficiary. Yet when the 29 articles and the preamble were finally agreed, all 116 participants were satisfied.

The legal provisions have been so tightly meshed as to leave virtually no loopholes through which to legally export toxic waste from the northern to the southern hemisphere.

The developing countries will not be able to set up in the toxic waste disposal business until they have the technical capacity and know-how to dispose harmlessly and ecologically of imported industrial waste.

African countries have stated in all honesty that they have no desire to handle other people's waste.

The Basle convention on toxic waste is not just a North-South treaty; it commits all signatories. Eighty per cent of the cross-border trade in toxic waste is between industrialised countries.

In its case the convention internationalises existing legal provisions. The notification and detailed description of waste shipped to another country for disposal are established practice.

That, indeed, is why smart middlemen are trying to ship toxic waste to the Third World. If the new convention works, this loophole too will be closed.

This is not, in any way, to make the problem of hazardous industrial waste sound any less pressing or serious than it is.

The more goods are produced, the more waste mounts up all over the world. Reliable statistics may not be available, but the present world total must be nearly one billion tons a year.

The consumer society has so far seen only the gleaming finished products, but the waste can no longer be hidden or glossed over. The toxic waste convention debate has at least opened the eyes of a wider public to one of the more unacceptable faces of affluence.

By the terms of the Basle convention all signatories undertake "to ensure that cross-border shipments of toxic and other waste are reduced to a minimum in keeping with efficient and environment-friendly disposal and carried out so as to protect public health and the environment from the detrimental effects of such shipments."

The need to develop low-waste technologies and disposal methods is stressed. Cross-border trade in toxic waste is only to be permitted when the exporting country lacks the technical capacity or suitable disposal locations.

Another exception permitted by the terms of the conventionis when the importing country needs the waste as a raw material for its processing and reprocessing industries.

These are, naturally, "rubber paragraphs" that allow extensive leeway and scope for interpretation, but a multilateral agreement to be signed by as many countries as possible can hardly be framed in greater detail.

Criticism by environmental organisations such as Greenpeace cannot, perhaps, be dismissed out of hand, but they are based on an idealistic world view that can hardly be reconciled with the reality.

Industrial waste is something we will have to live with for a while yet before recycling is perfected. Surprisingly, however, the chemical industry has been quick to hail the convention.

A spokesman for Ciba-Geigy, the Basle pharmaceutical company, says recycling chemical waste is no more expensive than disposing of it overseas line with the new regulations. That leaves the problem of illegal trading in hazardous waste. Unscrupulous dealers will always find ways of making money by bribing officials and falsifying export documents. Combating this is the international law backbone of the Basle convention.

The Federal Republic of Germany has yet to ship toxic waste to developing countries. What cannot be disposed of in the Federal Republic is sent to neighbouring Belgium, France and the German Democratic Republic. The GDR alone handles about 500,000 tons of toxic waste a year from the Federal Republic. The scarcity of disposal facilities in the industrialised countries could well intensify the problem and increase the cost (nearly DM2.4bn a year in Europe alone) in the wake of the Basle convention. The disposal of a ton of toxic waste can cost up to DM600, and up to DM2,000 for particularly hazardous substances.

Article 9 defines illegal trading as toxic waste being shipped across borders without notifying all concerned, without their consent or with consent procured by means of bribery or fraud.

Governments undertake to punish offenders. Legal obligations affect the exporter, the importer, the originator and the eliminator of the waste.

If the disposal of toxic waste cannot be completed abroad in accordance with the terms contractually agreed, the exporting country is required to ensure that the shipment is returned to the country of origin.

Not even the Antarctic is forgotten. The storage and disposal of industrial waste is prohibited as a matter of principle below the 60th parallel.

Pierre Simonitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, [illegible] March 1989)

Continued from page 7

up their sleeves. They could supply the European market with cars manufactured in America.

The Americans have given their blessing to this because they would reduce their enormous trade deficit in this way.

Helmut Haussmann, Economic Affairs Minister in Bonn, has acknowledge this possibility. He is afraid that the proposed European Community import quotas would be directed against Japanese cars made in America.

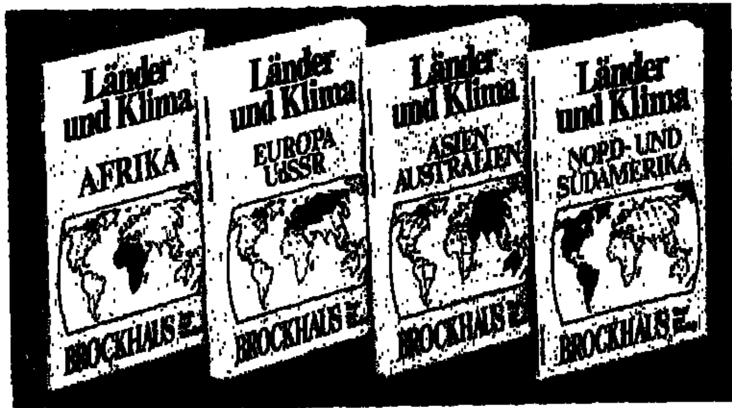
He said that this would lead to a trade war and be rejected by the Americans.

Helmut Haussmann is absolutely certain that President George Bush would not stand by and watch such trade restrictions.

Heinz Blüthmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 3 March 1989)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:

North and South America, 172 pp., DM 24.80;
Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80;
Africa, 130 pp., DM 24.80;
Europe/USSR, 240 pp., DM 24.80

Look it up in Brockhaus

F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1

Politics at first hand

Detailed and objective information is what you need if you are to hold your own on politics and world affairs: facts on which to base your own political viewpoint.
Aussenpolitik, the quarterly foreign affairs review, gives you facts at first hand for an annual DM50 plus p&p.
Write today for a sample copy of the English edition, at no obligation, to the publishers, **INTERPRESS GmbH, Hartwicusstr. 3–4, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Federal Republic of Germany. Tel. (040) 229 06 09.**

✂ - ✂

AUSSEN POLITIK
German Foreign Affairs Review

Editorial Advisory Board:
Heinrich Bechtoldt, Editor-in-Chief
Hans Apel
Herbert von Borch
Klaus Ritter
Walter Scheel
Helmut Schmidt
Horst Teltschik
Richard von Weizsäcker
Gerhard Wettig

— Coupon for a sample copy —

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

____

Country ____________________

Profession ____________________

■ THE ANCIENT WORLD

Munich mineralogists locate the gold mines of the pharaohs

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Ancient Egypt was regarded in antiquity as a land of gold. "Gold is as plentiful as dust," said the Mitanni conquerors of Egypt in demanding gold from the Pharaohs in the 14 century BC.

This is recorded in the Armarna letters, the diplomatic correspondence of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV.

In the earlier dynasties, gold was dedicated to the gods as "the body of the gods," as it was put in a foundation charter dating from Sethos I.

Later gold was commonly used for jewellery and for the bartering of goods, not just by members of the Pharaoh's family.

The Pharaohs were buried with much gold about them, as the tomb of Tutankhamen shows: golden coffin, couch, shrine to the gods, golden holders for torches, and, where it was possible, sunlight was directed into the tomb with gold, a metal so similar to the sun.

The Pharaohs honoured their officials with gold or golden orders in the shape of a garland for loyal service, for instance.

Although the gold wealth of the land has been confirmed in writing and in archaeological discoveries, little is known about the origins of the gold.

Evidence has been found of the goldmining districts, the oldest in Egypt being in the eastern desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, the most recent mainly from the period of the New Kingdom in Nubia.

The name Nubia might well be taken from the ancient Egyptian word for "gold" which was "nbw," and the Pharaohs' concern for the conquest of Nubia was mainly based on having access to important resources of gold there.

Until now Egyptologists have known little about goldmining in ancient Egypt.

The written records revealed nothing about how the gold was actually mined, which mines were exploited and how the deposits were in fact discovered.

Modern investigations have found 92 deposits of gold in Egypt, which all show signs that gold was mined there in ancient times.

This does not necessarily mean "pharaonic mining" for the Romans were very active mining gold from Egypt.

There is a unique document which shows a deposit and deals with mining gold in ancient Egypt. It is called the "Turin Mine Papyrus" (it is stored in Turin), which was found in an unnamed village not far from Thebes.

There the gangs of necropolis workers lived, who had to build the royal tombs in the time of the New Kingdom.

An unknown person drew the plan on which are indicated about a spring "the mine of gold," then "the mine where the gold is washed" and the houses where the goldmine workers lived, as well as "the road which leads to the sea."

This is probably the oldest geological map we have for the rocks are coloured in it. The plan is probably only very approximate about the location. There are also deposits of the rock "bekhen" shown on it, and "bekhen" is greywacke, which was used a great deal in ancient Egypt.

"Bekhen" and other rocks from the region including pink granite, from which royal sarcophagi were made, were found in their own quarrying expeditions to the Nile.

Until recently there was considerable controversy about the significance of the Turin Papyrus.

It was obviously drawn by a scribe or a painter from the tomb workers' village, who was possibly part of an expedition seeking greywacke or granite for the Valley of the Kings.

For a long time there has been argument about whether the map was about goldmining, whether gold was even being mined there then, and whether the plan is a plan of mines at all. The secrets of the papyrus have been unravelled by two Munich geologists, Rosemarie and Dieter Klemm from the Institute for General and and Applied Geology at Munich University. They found the "mine of gold" with the aid of aerial photographs and surveying close to a spring named "Bir Um Fawakhir" in the Wadi es Sid, not far from the Red Sea. Three

Continued on page 12



Silver gilt vanity case in the shape of a shell, National Archaeological Museum, Taranto. (Photo: Catalog)

Gold from Taranto: full splendour in Hamburg

The exhibition, *Gold from Taranto*, has arrived at its last stop after touring Milan, Paris and Tokyo: Hamburg's Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

After Hamburg the priceless collection will be returned to the Archeological Museum in Taranto.

The 260 exhibits include artistic diadems, chains and dainty earrings, dating from the 4th to the 2nd century BC, showing a mastery of the goldsmith's art which has not been surpassed since.

Economic necessity, a sense of commercial enterprise and also a yearning for adventure, induced citizens from Greek Sparta to found the city of Taranto in southern Italy. It quickly developed into one of the most important cities in antiquity.

The city lies in futile country on the west coast of the Calabrian peninsula. It became a point of intersection in the trade between the Hellenic-Greek east and up-and-coming Rome and central Italy.

By the 4th century BC 100,000 free citizens were making a livelihood in Taranto.

Their Greek language and traditions protected the colonists from Sparta even in foreign Italy. But their life in Taranto was anything but "Spartan." They had a very chic life-style.

It was said of them: "Other people prepare for life through work and effort, the Tarentines really live."

Taranto was not only an important commercial city, it also specialised in the production of the colour purple. The Tarentines also had a craving for fine work done by goldsmiths.

The living and the dead were surrounded by costly splendour: the pieces of jewellery in the exhibition come from graves dating from antiquity.

Many of the pieces were commissioned for a burial. Funeral crosses, for instance, in which oak, olive and vine leaves are entwined in wafer-thin gold around enamelled blossoms and fruits.

Or ear-rings made of gilded clay, which the less well-off had made for their departed ones, which were then carefully adorned with minute figurines.

The rich Tarentines were buried with only genuine jewellery. The goldsmiths developed a particularly skilled technique using specks of gold. They decorated ear-rings, most of them only between two and four centimetres long, with artistically elegant designs made from the smallest possible specks of gold.

Another speciality was chased work in which the decoration was not made from a single sphere but from thin gold wire.

The goldsmiths showed they were true masters in working the shapes of lions, antelopes and human heads, just

Continued on page 11

Capitalism began a long way back in history, "approximately 4,500 years," according to Orientalist Gebhard Selz.

Cuneiform capitalism deciphered

He makes this statement as a result of his research on ancient Sumarian texts at Freiburg University.

In the course of his studies he has come across some interesting documents which have a bearing on economic history.

The evidence comes from clay tablets in cuneiform script coming from the Sumarians, who lived 5,000 years ago in what is now southern Iraq.

Sophisticated irrigations techniques gave them a highly developed agriculture, and their trade connections extended as far as India and Egypt.

Selz, 38, is an expert on cuneiform writing. Aided by a computer he is the first to translate a collection of 310 texts about the Sumarians' economic activities.

The document, dating from 2,400 years before Christ, which Setz regards as of key importance, includes the following:

"Outstanding debts: x+2.1.1. Top quality barley from Urschedalumma, Schubar, the inspector, who has transferred the returned grain into the storehouse, has handed the tablet to him about this and made the entry in his loan account, 5 years." Barley was commonly used as "currency."

The original text is in the Eremitage in Leningrad. Copies were made public by N. Nikolskij in 1908.

Setz regards this as evidence of the complex nature of the Sumerians' economic activities at a time when Europe was still in the Stone Age.

According to Selz's interpretation Inspector Schubar has given a receipt to Farmer Urschedalumma for partly paying a loan of grain with barley and has prepared a statement of the remaining debt.

Selt discovered the context in two other cuneiform texts which are in antiquities' collections in Paris and East Berlin.

The content of these documents has been known for the past 20 years: they are "business notes" about the partial repayment in 'barley,' the common currency of the time.

The experts did not have a receipt for the entire repayment of a loan to round off the "oldest documentary evidence of a credit."

Selz has now worked on 1,500 ancient Sumarian tablets. The process he has deciphered shows a transaction concluded on common property but also with a trend to private ownership in Sumarian society.

It is astonishing evidence of sophisticated commercial life, 3,000 years before Christ, with capitalist tendencies.

Grain in store was given out by city princes and temple rulers according to demand in anticipation of the grain being repaid in better times.

This is similar to conditions which stipulate: "80 litres of barley now — 100 litres on repayment."

Gebhard Setz said: "Apparently the ancient Sumarians were well acquainted with the idea of the accumulation of capital."

Karl Rammensteinldpa

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 7 March 1989)

■ THE ARTS

Carpet art commissioned by Hamelin manufacturer



Is Peter Littmann a pied piper, a ratcatcher? The comparison is apt, when someone does something in Hamelin which no-one has done before, when someone has ideas, which no-one has had in Hamelin, or anywhere else, before.

But if you meet him in his office in Hamelin you see straight away that the comparison is inappropriate.

Yet he does not look like a level-headed businessman who prefers to go through a long column of figures and end up in the black.

He quickly brings the conversation round to art and artists.

Peter Littmann is an engineering graduate with a doctorate in business management. He is not only interested in art he is wildly enthusiastic about it. That is quite unusual in the commercial branch to which he has devoted his life.

Anyone who is in the wall-to-wall carpeting business is not generally regarded as having much feel for art or any particular sense of the imaginative.

Since 1987 Littmann has been one of the general partners in the Vorwerk-Teppich KG, Hamelin, carpeting manufacturers, but he does not want to be *content* with just that. He is now rather proud of what he has achieved.

He led the way through large sheds, past giant rolls of carpeting, past machines on which patterns were printed. Eventually we came to a dreary room with bare walls, but one's eye was caught by gaudily-coloured carpets with unusual patterns on the floor, carpets which have been designed by world-famous artists and architects.

Roy Lichtenstein, one of the most highly-paid artists in America, is one of these carpet-designers.

David Hockney as well, the verstile British artist, who last year caused a furore with major exhibitions in Los Angeles, New York and London.

Then Gerhard Richter, one of the most successful painters in the Federal Republic.

Among the architects there are the names of men who have taught conservative architects what is what in the controversy which rages about the post-moderns: Oswald Mathias Ungers, for instance, one of the most imaginative West German architects, much in demand and with an *international* reputation.

Or Michael Graves, who designed the Portland Building in Oregan, a prime example of post-modern architecture.

Or Norman Forster, who drew attention to himself with his unconventional design for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank building in Hong Kong.

Or Arata Isozaki, who was responsible for the famous Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles.

All of them have been involved in a variety of fields but they have never before tried their hand at textiles design.

For this reason Peter Littmann was at first sceptical that his idea would find any takers. He wanted to bring new ideas into carpet design, get away from what had become traditional and commonplace (and which is reflected in the stagnating turnover in this sector of industry).

In short: he wanted to drive away the boredom of carpet design.

He has known moments of considerable anxiety over the past couple of years, worrying as to whether he would be successful with this idea and whether *it would pay off in the end*.

Time and time again, however, he told himself that previous generations had not let themselves be fobbed off with monotonous carpeting when they were in a position to give themselves a little luxury.

Nowadays more often than not we have to wear felt overshoes when visiting a castle or stately home so as to look after the mosaic, marble or wooden floors.

He asked himself why, using contemporary styles, floors in homes could not be just as beautiful.

Littmann looked up five painters and five architects whom he was convinced could produce something smarter for floor covering.

He did not go for artists of the second rank, but straight away he made a beeline for artists with an international reputation.

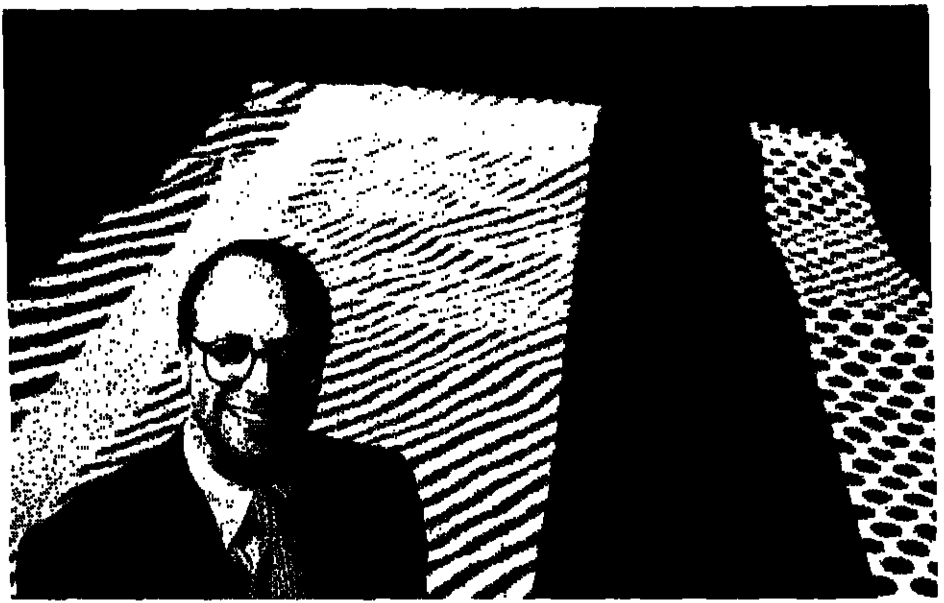
He assumed that a half of them would reply with no. But great artists are unpredictable: all said yes.

When Gerhard Richter suggested that Roy Lichtenstein should also be included, something which Littmann had not dared to think about, there were eventually 11 artists lined up.

All that Littmann now had to do was to look up "his" artists in their homes. He had to fly to New York, Los Angeles, London and Milan to iron out details, to submit samples and come to agreement about printed proofs.

It was all much simpler than he thought it would be at the beginning. Money, for instance, was only talked about by the way.

The fees which a David Hockney, a Sol LeWitt or a Sam Francis get for their pictures, or architects such as a Oswald Mathias Ungers or a Matteo Thun normally get for their designs, are enormous.



Peter Littmann and designer carpet by Roy Lichtenstein. (Photo: Vorwerk)

Even a flourishing company employing 600 cannot afford to pay so much for a design.

Littmann and his artists almost casually agreed on an acceptable licence fee (a fee which was quite usual in the carpet business), a profit-sharing arrangement in fact.

What was much more important for the artists was who else would be working on the project. There was always the fear that their fame would be exploited by a clever businessman as a crowd puller for second-class artists.

As this was not the case the question of prestige no longer came up.

In practice, however, a few snags did crop up. Peter Littmann recalls with a feeling of horror his first chat with Roy Lichtenstein.

Hardly had the preliminaries been dealt with than the question was put: "Can you guarantee a pure white?"

Littmann brashly said: "Yes," but he felt just a little like someone who has just seen a ghost.

Then his technicians in Hamelin pointed out to him something that was "impossible." In carpet-manufacture there had only been until then a yellowish-greyish colour which was tolerated as white.

But then professional pride came into play. A way was found to produce a perfect white.

This was a white that not only glowed between the large blue grid of dots and pink stripes in Roy Lichtenstein's pop design, but also in the tangle of squares which Gerhard Richter arranged on the accident principle.

With their designs the artists had to keep to a standard width of four metres and a basic design before repeats of 92.5 centimetres in length, because the carpets would be printed on machines from Britain.

Despite the conversion to the metric system in Britain the circumference of the rollers is still measured in yards. This obstacle was regarded as a technical challenge, however.

The selection of the designs caused many more problems. Hockney, for instance, prepared eleven, from which he and Littmann selected four; Sam Francis produced seven or eight, from which two remain; Sol LeWitt produced three *of which two were selected*, and the same thing happened with Michael Graves.

Littmann had problems with Gerhard Richter's second design. The pattern was based on his large abstract pictures.

The proof printing had to be changed many, many times until the colours were right.

Full of confidence Littmann went to Richter's studio in Cologne and spread the proof out proudly before Richter, who is a professor at the academy in Düsseldorf.

Richter looked at it closely, walked up and down, looked at Littmann and then at the carpet and finally murmured: "Too forced." And that was the end of that.

Littmann has now (almost) forgotten all the problems. The collection has been in production since the beginning of the year and the reaction has been encouraging.

It is true that many who have to do with carpets do not know who Hockney, Francis or Thun are; only that they are famous people, whom one ought to know. This makes an impression and helps with the sales talk.

Littmann pointed out anyway that the project "had been profitable even before we sold a metre of carpet. The attention which has been given to my company through this project would have been enough for me."

Now he has been honoured by inclusion in a museum. The carpets, next to the original designs, can now be seen in the German Architects Museum in Frankfurt.

They are to be displayed at the Centre Pompidou in Paris in April/May. The title of the exhibition is to be "Bodenreform."

Peter Dittmar

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 March 1989)

Continued from page 10

millimetres in size. Most of the pieces on exhibit in Hamburg originate from women's graves. For instance, a wealthy Tarentine lady of the 3rd century BC certainly gazed at herself in the folding looking-glass made of silver.

On the looking-glass's cover there is a beautiful Aphrodite listening to Eros playing a flute, all in gold relief.

There is a cosmetic case also made of gilded silver. It is fan-shaped and the chased work represents a life-like pilgrim scallop.

On the cover of an exquisite make-up casket a nymph is galloping through the sea on the back of a sea monster.

Tarentine artists had an astonishing high degree of talent as gem-cutters. Their seals and scarabs show perfect mythical creatures, deer and human beings, two centimetres high, which were worked with conscientious detail.

Apart from the cosmetics articles from ancient Taranto the Hamburg exhibition includes also terra-cotta figures and small clay vases and dishes, which were placed in the graves of the dead.

The goldsmiths obviously had a special position among the artisans in the great Hellenic port.

But their knowledge of their craft and their feel for artistic shapes waned in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The importance of Tarentine jewellery declined.

About 10,000 graves have been found in Taranto, including small artefacts from antiquity. It is possible that more graves will be found beneath the southern Italian city.

Like their forebears in Sparta the ancient Tarentines buried their dead within the city walls, and the area of the city has remained unchanged until the end of the Second World War — new buildings were constantly built on the ancient foundations.

Today Taranto is a modern industrialised city. Where, 2,000 years ago, the Tarentines, wearing exquisite jewellery, enjoyed the good life, there are now steelworks and refineries.

Ulrike Meyer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 February 1989)

■ SCIENCE

Ohm of Ohm's Law was born 200 years ago

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Physicist Georg Simon Ohm, born 200 years ago in Erlangen, was a Cologne schoolmaster. He discovered the law of electrical resistance that bears his name.

An 1823 handwritten curriculum of his still exists. It includes "Excursions into the Past, one lesson per week," for his sixth-formers.

He envisaged this lesson as individual recapitulation "such as might be appropriate for the class in question."

Many present-day maths and physics teachers would still not feel that recapitulation is a matter of course.

When they refer to him or to other trailblazers similarly immortalised, they use names that have become a matter of course and, arguably, empty formulas.

Names such as Watt, Ampère, Celsius, Kelvin, Hertz and Ohm are all well and good, but there is no longer anything special, memorable or individual about them and their lives.

A lesson a week on "Excursions into the Past" would do us all no harm. Just a few minutes to remind us not only of the past but of the present and the future.

Georg Simon Ohm was born on 16 March 1789 in Erlangen. He discovered the law of electrical resistance.

Constant attempts this century to overcome this resistance and send electric current over long distances without loss and wastage trigger a latterday buzzword: superconductivity.

Ohm's father was an unusual man. He was a master-locksmith, weakened by tuberculosis but determined to become a good mathematician in later life and to teach his sons Georg Simon and Martin as much as he could.

Their mother had died in childbirth in 1799; it would have been her seventh. Georg had previously been taught arithmetic more or less coincidentally by a curate.

After leaving school at 16 he went to university, but spent only three semesters studying mathematics, physics and philosophy in his home town, Erlangen.

He derived more satisfaction from the six years he then spent working as a private tutor in Switzerland.

Yet shortly after returning to Erlangen in 1811 he submitted a PhD thesis on light and colours, became a university teacher and also taught at a small school he and his brother had set up.

He applied for other teaching posts but was turned down, then worked at a new school in Bamberg which unfortunately soon closed.

In 1817 he wrote his "Basic Outlines of a Suitable Treatment of Geometry as a Means of Higher Education," a well-meant and most ambitious venture in education theory.

Ernst Deuerlein, the historian, described it as "a manly attack on intellectual despotism," but in practice it made him unpopular.

In the preface Ohm refers to his father in amazingly modern terms, saying he had been "firmly convinced of the inadequacy of conventional teaching as a means of ensuring human dignity."

Ohm was soon no longer to feel at his ease in Franconia. He had no hesitation in moving to Cologne in 1817 when a fellow-teacher invited him.

Prussian schools were being set up after the defeat of Napoleon and teachers were needed.

He moved into three rooms in what, until 1773 when the order was abolished, had been a Jesuit college, the college where Friedrich von Spee had campaigned against the persecution of witches 200 years earlier.

He soon earned a reputation as a senior teacher of mathematics and physics. A plaque can still be seen on the outside wall at Marzellenstrasse 32, now the archepiscopal vicar-general's office.

From platform 1 of the main railway station you can still see, despite conversion work, the windows of his apartment on the upper storey; trains run alongside the east wing where his collections used to be housed.

His pupils frequently won awards at the new university in nearby Bonn. Some made names for themselves. But he was not to become a university teacher there.

The tale is told in the *Festschrift* issued in 1939 to mark his birth sesquicentenary.

From about 1824 he made increasingly extensive use of his "physical cabinet," an impressive collection of equipment housed on his floor of the building, together with a small observatory and the Wallraf art gallery of its day.

He concentrated on electricity as a subject in which I least needed to fear competition, as he admitted in his main work, *Die galvanische Kette, mathematisch bearbeitet* (The Galvanic Circuit Investigated Mathematically), 1827.

In it he outlined his best-known discovery, made in January 1826 after experiments with a heating element made of bismuth and copper and his own design of current measuring devices, that in any wire at uniform temperature the current which flows is directly proportional to the potential difference between its ends.

In addition to this, Ohm's Law, he also proved that the resistance depended upon the material and that it was proportional to the length of the wire and inversely proportional to the cross-sectional area.

He was the first scientist to establish this linear connection.

He took leave and travelled to Berlin, where his brother was a mathematics professor, to intensify his studies.

But the intellectual climate of Hegelianism made it more difficult for him to gain recognition. Surveys and pamphlets opposed his mathematical approach to physics.

Ohm shared the fate of many pioneers; he was powerless in the face of ignorance. After countless unsuccessful job applications he finally, aged 44, took up a post at the Nuremberg Polytechnic, first as professor, later as rector.

British and French research later confirmed his findings. He was awarded the London Royal Society's Copley Medal in 1841.

His later research included valuable research in the field of acoustics. It too



Georg Simon Ohm, 1789-1854. (Photo: Ullstein)

prompted opposition. His law of acoustics was initially attributed to Helmholtz, who merely confirmed its accuracy in 1858.

Ohm, an honoured member of several academies, did not live to see this confirmation. He died on 6 July 1854 of a stroke. He was 63.

Only two years beforehand he had finally been appointed professor of physics at the University of Munich. Some of his instruments are on exhibit at the Deutsches Museum in Munich, the city where he was buried.

His tombstone is inaccurate. It says he was born on 16 March *1787* and died on 7July 1854.

In 1881 the International Electric Congress meeting in Paris officially named the practical unit of electrical resistance the ohm. The practical unit.

Continued on page 15

Continued from page 10

shady trenches can still be seen today around the "mine of gold" in oblique light, which lead to the spring and which are marked on the ancient map as dark stripes.

The pathways can be clearly seen, but the houses of the Pharaoh's goldminers have disappeared.

Remains have been found of a worker settlement, where thousands once lived. Ceramic shards show that the site was inhabited in Roman and Coptic times. Undoubtedly gold was mined here then.

Rosmarie and Dieter Klemm discovered the pharaonic mine there, where it could not really have existed, at the spot where "gold was washed." There was no water there and there never had been. The large spring is about four kilometres away.

There were ancient mines there and, what was conclusive, fragments of elongated chafing troughs and stones from the area used for rubbing.

The chafing troughs were used to break down the ore from the galleries until it was fine sand. Heavy gold was washed out of it. This is a method applied even today in goldmining.

The shape of the elongated chafing troughs is characteristic of the separation techniques used in pharaonic times. Later, in the era of the Ptolemys, larger millstones with a handle were used, the Romans used round stone-mills.

Aided by these "fossil clues" of pharaonic mining the first ancient Egyptian goldmine has been identified.

Fine quarz sand was found in front of the entrance holes leading to the mine galleries from which gold was washed out.

Under the microscope this quarz sand was found to be square in shape, clearly different from the rounded desert sand.

Water must have been transported in animal skins from the spring four kilometres away by donkeys (there were no camels then).

Perhaps the sand was only given a preliminary wash and then the quarz sand, considerably reduced in volume, was transported to the spring for the final wash.

There are piles of rinsed sand around the spring, which is much later and which has been washed through again in the 20th century.

This mining area is so rich in gold that neither the Pharoahs nor the Romans could exhaust its gold reserves.

In the post-war period a French count mined gold there, which must have been very profitable.

He also extracted a lot of gold from the ancient piles of rinsed sand, in which there was still considerable quantities of gold due to the rough techniques used by the Ancients.

The count returned to France after the Egyptian Revolution in 1953 and the gold at the spring of "Bir Um Fawakhir" was temporarily left in peace.

Russian geologists prospected for gold for a long time but after the rift between Moscow and Cairo they also returned home, taking with them all the results of their work.

This explanation of the significance of the Turin Papyrus and the first identification of a pharaonic goldmine is, however, only the beginning of more extensive research.

Supported by the Volkswagen Foundation Rosemarie and Dieter Klemm want to reconnoitre systematically the gold deposits in the eastern desert and southern Nubia over the next few years to clarify how long mining has been carried out there and the geological origin of the deposits.

It is hoped that traces of deep quarrying techniques will be found and evidence of the methods used for prospecting. It is a complete puzzle how the Pharaoh's mining experts discovered the gold deposits.

The mining probably began with placer gold washed from the sand of rivers. This explains the high gold content of the early gold objects in the tombs. The gold was almost 85 per cent pure, typical for placer gold, while the gold from the rock ore is of a lower carat.

Placer gold can be obtained without a great deal of effort by washing gravel and sand. However prospecting methods must be applied, requiring a lot of effort and specialist knowledge, when one is looking for the source of the gold which is weathered out of the "goldmine" [illegible].

The facts show that the Egyptians could do this. Whether this was [illegible] tal or prospectors scoured the land looking for gold deposits is a puzzle which the new project will set out to solve.

It is also hoped that information will be acquired about daily life among the Pharaoh's mineworkers, about how work was organised, about the mining settlements and the logistics that were applied to support them, since most of them lay far off in the desert.

Most of the mineworkers were slaves, prisoners or prisoners-of-war. The Pharaohs were obviously not indifferent to the welfare of their workers. There is an inscription from one Pharoah boasting that he has had a spring built for mineworkers seeking to extract gold from Nubia.

Harald Steinert

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 March 1989)

■ HEALTH

Aftercare for stroke patients is not caring enough



"I was sitting at my desk one afternoon and had just confirmed an evening appointment in town with a client," says a stroke patient.

"Suddenly something happened to me of which I can only remember bits. I was lying under the desk. There was something the matter with my head.

I wanted to crawl to the nearest chair or armchair to rest my head on it. But I couldn't, so I just had to wait and wait . . ."

The woman who recalls her stroke in this way was lucky despite being badly paralysed on one side of her body. She was properly treated at the nearest university hospital and then sent to a rehabilitation clinic for further treatment.

She spent 12 weeks there painstakingly relearning how to walk. She can now live at home again, albeit with limitations. She no longer needs constant care and attention but she can't go shopping or to the bank on her own.

Her husband initially handled all outdoor errands of this kind, but she had been an active woman and didn't like it at all.

"We now do everything together," he says, "no matter how long it takes. I try to help my wife but leave the decisions to her."

She can still not go back to her old job — legal practice. Yet she has recovered, as much as one can recover seven months after a stroke.

Rehabilitation does not just mean going back to work but "making physically, emotionally and mentally handicapped people truly fit again and able to perform their personal and social roles in life as far as is still possible."

This definition, by psychologist Hans Dieter Kijanski, is taken from a new book entitled *Schlaganfall — Rehabilitation statt Resignation* (Stroke — Rehabilitation rather than Resignation) edited by Horst-Christian Mäurer and published by Thieme, the Stuttgart medical publishers.

The tale of the woman solicitor and her husband is also taken from this book.

The stroke is only one of many complaints and accident consequences that can suddenly or gradually transform a healthy person into a handicapped one.

But it is a particularly clear pointer to unsatisfactorily rehabilitation is still handled in Germany, what handicaps it still has to surmount and how many people, especially old people, are still unnecessarily reduced to the role of bedridden or wheelchair-bound patients who need constant care.

Over 300,000 people a year in the Federal Republic of Germany suffer strokes. About one in four dies before reaching hospital; more die during treatment. Over half those who survive need constant care and attention.

Unnecessarily so. Many of these seriously handicapped people could be rehabilitated sufficiently to lead lives largely of their own.

The earlier you start, the better. But many stroke patients have to wait too long. In 1987 only 7,000 were sent straight from hospital to a rehabilitation clinic, Professor Mäurer writes, advising patients and their nearest and dearest to insist.

A great deal of stamina and persistence are often needed to ensure an immediate transfer to a rehabilitation clinic. The next of kin often have to find out for themselves what facilities are available. Often no-one at the hospital has a clue about rehabilitation.

Stroke patients have, for instance, been recommended to take a rehabilitation course at a clinic for heart attack patients.

That is no good at all. The treatment is entirely different. A stroke affects the brain and nerve system, not — primarily — the heart.

It causes upsets of various kinds and degrees of difficulty, depending on the location and extent of brain damage. The patient may, for instance, be paralysed on one side. Or he may no longer be able to speak, to understand, to read or to write.

He may suffer from difficulties of movement, vision or hearing, be confused or apathetic.

It is hard to say how far such upsets can be remedied. Rehabilitation measures must begin as soon as possible, partly because the process of compensating for functions that have gone for good can be practised early enough.

The numerous handicaps faced by old people in particular who are in need of rehabilitation, and not only after a stroke, were recently aired most frankly in Berlin.

At a conference in the Malteser-Krankenhaus, a clinic specialising in treatment care and rehabilitation of old and chronically sick patients, the platform speakers included gerontologist Ursula Lehr.

She was there not in her capacity as Minister of Health, Youth, Family and Women's Affairs but as a committed opponent of the outmoded "deficit model" of aging — the view that functions must constantly, inevitably deteriorate as one grows older.

This view has a devastating effect. It prompts people to feel rehabilitation measures for the aged are an unnecessary sham aimed merely at giving them the impression that something is being done for them.

Besides, the concept of rehabilitation was long narrowly limited to measures aimed at enabling a patient to go back to work. Professor Lehr pointed out that over-65s make up only eight per cent of rehabilitation patients even though they account for 15 per cent of the population and are far more frequently affected by the aftermath of illness than younger people.

She called on the medical profession, which for the most part has geriatric training, to reappraise its negative view of old age. An attitude of which resignation is the keynote is inevitably transferred to the patient.

Scientific surveys have clearly shown that the success of treatment for stroke patients depends on the confidence and active participation of the patient in rehabilitation.

Patients must be encouraged by being urged to do as much as possible, and encouraged time and again, not only by their doctors but by nursing staff and their nearest and dearest, whose influence can be enormous.

Professor Lehr told the conference that worried wives or daughters had only too often overnursed patients at home, so much so as to nullify the progress painstakingly made at rehabilitation clinic.

Speaking as a politician, she went on to call for rehabilitation to be incorporated more satisfactorily in the work of emergency wards at general hospitals and of nursing homes and homes for the aged

She said there ought to be more transitional facilities, including semi-outpatient care, so that patients could keep their own homes for at least six months after a stroke and not inevitably end in a home.

Strict and striking differences ought not to be drawn between patients in need of treatment and patients in need of care, bearing in mind that the chronically sick patient needs treatment too.

The term "in need of care" ought, she felt, to be scrapped without delay. It sounded so static, unchangeable.

Medical studies must be extended to include a wider grounding in geriatrics. Students must also be taught the basics of teamwork. Rehabilitation is definitely the result of teamwork, as Mäurer's book shows. It includes articles by specialists in nursing, in gymnastics for the sick, in occupational therapy, in logopaedics, in clinical psychology, in adult education and in social work.

The work facing members of the team is far from easy. They were usually young people and found it hard to work patiently and painstakingly with old and handicapped patients, Joachim Rustemeyer of Hanover said.

The work of all members of the team must be geared to the needs of the individual patient and not aimed at self-realisation or a specific technique, said Dr Hans-Peter Meier-Baumgärtner of Hamburg.

The team is traditionally headed by a doctor, who as a rule knows little or nothing about rehabilitation and seldom has any idea what individual team members do.

So he is in no position to prescribe gymnastics, occupational therapy or logopaedic work, let alone care aimed at helping the patient to become more active, to any effect.

Outpatient rehabilitation of the aged is particularly handicapped by this state of affairs. Hans Leutiger from Hofgeismar criticised the widespread habit doctors have of merely prescribing drugs.

"They prescribe anything that make the patient sleep or at his ease. A 90-year-old was prescribed three different valium-based drugs by the same doctor, plus five spoonfuls of Distraneurin," he said.

The patient's condition had improved since he had been taken off all these drugs. Motivation, activation and mobilisation were, he said, the keywords at the Hofgeismar clinic.

In the year the clinic's own swimming pool was opened the average time patients spent at Hofgeismar declined by nine days.

"Rehabilitation gives geriatrics a new dimension," said Josef Böger, long-serving head of the Malteser-Krankenhaus, where the conference was held.

He felt the emotional state of old people was at least as important as their physical condition. In his view doctors and other members of the team ought to pay it most attention.

Patient understanding shown by professional helpers and by relatives and friends encourages aging patients to marshal their remaining powers to cope with their illness and their handicap as well as possible.

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 March 1989)

Warning: these decibels may be deafening

The Logo, a Hamburg rock club, is notorious for being the "loudest sauna bath" in the city. This criticism, made by connoisseurs, critics and parents alike, is as old as rock music.

As far as rock music fans are concerned, it goes in one ear and straight out of the other.

Scientists sound persistent and unheeded warnings that loud rock music is a hazard to hearing. But the ubiquitous Walkman and low-cost car and home stereo systems merely heighten the risk.

Professor Peter Plath says the younger generation will be a generation with clearly defective hearing before its time.

Professor Plath is chief surgeon at the Recklinghausen ear, nose and throat clinic of Bochum University Hospital.

He says the hearing cannot withstand the noise in a discotheque for more than two hours a week. Noise levels there are frequently over 100 decibels, or nearly as loud as a jet aircraft 500 metres overhead.

The high frequencies are the first that can no longer be heard, causing what has been dubbed the cocktail party effect. People can't hear what others are saying to them because of the background noise.

How much is a decibel? A whisper in bed at night is 30 decibels, normal conversation about 55 decibels. A freight train and a lawnmower are about 90 decibels and someone yelling at the top of their voice is about 110 decibels.

Professor Plath made it clear that hearing losses due to noise exposure are irreversible and may lead to deafness in old age.

The cocktail party effect makes the person who can no longer hear what other people are saying mistrustful. Are they talking about him?

At noise levels of above 85 decibels health damage is definite, gradually nudging the hearing threshold up the scale.

Low noises are no longer heard, while the hearing grows more sensitive toward louder ones.

A survey conducted by a Baden-Baden research association specialising in medicine in the home shows this displacement to be under way among today's teenagers.

Five hundred schoolchildren were tested and those who often listened to loud music or patronised their local discotheque were found to have "lost" up to seven decibels.

In other words, they could no longer hear rustling leaves and soft breathing.

The Berlin health authorities have tested 4,000 young people aged between 15 and 20 and found 12 per cent to suffer from ringing and whistling in their ears, heralding damage to the inner ear.

Hearing deserves to be taken seriously. In one ear and out the other is not what happens; the damage affects sensitive vessels.

Stomach movements and heartbeat volume are reduced, breathing, muscular tension and blood pressure are increased and the pupils widen.

Manfred Poserldpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 14 March 1989)

■ MODERN LIVING

Oberammergau to star a married Virgin Mary next year

An Oberammergau tradition has been broken: for the first time in 350 years, the Passion Play will be shown next year with a married woman in the role of Mary. The 26-member committee voted for the 36-year-old mother of two without waiting for a special clearance. Until now, only unmarried women under 35 were allowed to take part. Elisabeth Petre, the 1990 Mary, hopes her selection will mean a breaking down of barriers against women in the staging of the Passion Play. But it is part of wider change which is being fiercely resisted. Karl Stankiewitz reports here on the continuing rumpus at Oberammergau for the *Kölner-Stadt Anzeiger*, the Cologne daily.

The mayor of Oberammergau, the village in Bavaria where the Passion Play is performed every 10 years, appealed for calm after the 36 main actors for the next performance next year had been secretly chosen and their names published.

But it was not to be. Eight of the men who had already grown beards in preparation protested when they found they had no place. More protest is expected.

Even as he was being elected as the play's director, Christian Stückl had an idea that "all hell would break loose."

Every 10 years since the text was changed in 1960 from the version drafted in the middle of the 19th century by Josef Alois Daisenberger, there have been outbreaks of wailing and gnashing of teeth. The community, and families, have been split into two hostile camps: the traditionalists and the reformers.

The row this time is a bit different. In 1984, a special extra Passion Play was held to mark the 350th year since the community was delivered from the Plague and agreed, as a thanksgiving, to perform the play every decade.

For this occasion, the text was again altered with the aim of making it less artificial and offering a smaller target area for Jewish organisations which have been critical over the years. Stückl intends staying with this new text, which has the blessing of the highest church authorities.

But the 27-year-old director is going to have to use sets made in 1930 by Johann Georg Lang, even though a 23-year-old painter has spent a year preparing new, modern sets. Stückl, who has proved himself as a director at the Munich Kammerspiel, was voted in and confirmed by a local Oberammergau committee to his Passion Play position only by a wafer-thin majority.

He accepted the job for the sake of peace on earth. But behind the scenes of this, the biggest stage in the world (a cast of 1,700 plus animals), revolt simmers on.

Stückl makes no secret of the fact that he is linking his efforts to the bolshy attitude of young people and women.

Bishop Franz Schwarzenböck, of Munich, under whose wing the Passion Play comes, says that, as always, the arguments are stirring the very soul of the village."

Mayor Fend, who as a 28-year-old was elected to the position as an unbiased peacemaker, has appealed for solidarity in order to limit the damage.

One group of Passion Play veterans including a former director and a one-time Christ, Anton Preisinger, and an 88-year-old called Melchior Breitsamer who Stückl wanted to play Peter, instigated a mail-shot campaign "to avoid any enormous harm" that might be caused.

Of the 4,800 people in Oberammergau, 1,112 signed a petition against Stückl. Ill-feeling around the tables of the town's pubs and in the letters-to-the-editor columns grew in protest at the interpretation Stückl was giving to parts of the text.

But it hasn't been all black for him: 80 younger people went on a candle-light march through the town to the town hall in his support.

The opposing groups have been trying to blame each other for a fire in a haystack which has so far not been explained.

And then came the spectacular vote on 11 March: a 36-year-old mother of two children was chosen to play Mary (until now, the mother has always been younger than the son).

As prologue speaker ("All who are united in love around the Saviour are welcome") the committee has even chosen a Protestant, and one that does not even come from Oberammergau. And the part of John is to be played by a 17 year old. There were immediate mocking references to a Biblical kindergarten.

In April, Stückl wants to go to, of all places, Israel, where most of the criticism of the Passion Play has emanated from. His aim is to get a bit of first-hand low-down, a spiritual experience as preparation. He wants to see people, to see places and to look at landscapes.

Predecessor Hans Maier had a different approach. After the jubilee play of 1984, he and the cast went to Rome to visit the Pope and to give thanks for the greatest commercial success the village had had. The take was 37 million marks, 19 million of which was paid to the cast as compensation for loss of wages.

The world must have collapsed for those who have taken part over the decades and who have been resisting change. The first to find his voice after the choice of cast was a former Jesus Christ (twice), Rudi Zwink, who found the decision "humiliating." Pensioner Martin Mangöld (65) observed tartly after he rejected the chance of playing Herod, that "I am not an extra."

Among the departures from the play were a Pharisee, a priest, a merchant and three "friends of the Lord." All had called for Stückl to be voted out of office even though he had nominated them all for their roles.

It has for a long time no longer the matter of fulfilling a vow or the honour of taking part, only on the best role with the most prestige, in the opinion of Manuela Diezinger.

She is one of the progressive women of Oberammergau who is now waiting for a decision from a high court over whether or not the Play regulations laying down age and marital status of actors and actresses offends the German constit ution, Basic law.

The rumpus around and behind the wings and backstage may have been going on for 50 years. But already, more than 250,000 of the 304,000 tickets for the 96 all-day performances from 20 May 1990 have been sold world-wide and the presence of half a million visitors is as certain as the word "Amen" will be spoken from the pulpit.

Argument, it appears, is good for business.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner-Stadt Anzeiger, Cologne, 21 March 1989)



Virgin Mary Elisabeth Petre and ch... (Photo: ...)

Clergymen's marriages fail to live up to expectations

Many marriages of ministers of religion disintegrate in the no-mans land lying between what is ideal and what is possible. According to church statistics, almost a third of Evangelical Church ministers' marriages break up. In every second case, the break-up is wanted by the wife.

Ministers, psychologists and teachers of religion discussed the theme at the Evangelical Academy in Arnoldshain, in the Taunus. The central point was not just the sixth commandment, thou shalt not commit adultery; much more important was the apparent helplessness of the church leadership in being able adequately to express themselves about the broken marriages of its ministers.

It is no longer a taboo theme: ministers' marriages are as likely to be shaken by crisis as other people's. A young pastor whose marriage had broken up "quite normally" said that the church leadership had shown a full understanding.

But, months later, the church's penal system was applied harshly. It happened after the minister met another woman and it had been put about anonymously that she was the reason for the dissolution of the marriage. This third person had caused a wavering in the church's view of the ideal minister.

Dr Hannelore Elbach is a Göttingen psychology therapist. In her view, a third person is always involved. She said that whoever saw marriage as part of the obligation of office created the problem.

This was not only because the interest of the parish was too much for the ministers' marriage but because the demand for a model minister leading a moral existence led to hypocrisy in attempts to present the parish with a holy-world image.

The penal code of the church in cases of broken marriages, described as belonging to the Middle Ages, was becoming a more and more inappropriate device, said delegates.

It was generally agreed that the parish better understood than the church that if problems in a marriage were to be overcome, sometimes doors had to be slammed and plates fly.

It was said that in cases where a minister and his wife admitted openly to the parish that their marriage was beyond repair and the church authorities reacted with their usual penal process, the result was an alienation of the parish, which didn't like seeing its minister punished.

But often, the triggering factor in marriage problems was the demand that a minister must be married before he got a parish. This requirement was still looked at along traditional lines by the church. A minister, for example, could not take the name of his wife because that was "not common." The church felt

Continued on page 15

Marketing the message by telephone

Thirty three parishes in Hamburg a[re] involved in a campaign to reawake Christian fellowship. It is an ecume[nical] project involving the Evangelical, Cat[holic] and free churches.

In four weeks, volunteer workers [have] telephoned about 100,000 people in [sub]urbs from the inner city to Fuhlsbüttel [in] the north. Telephone numbers are ta[ken] from the telephone book.

The coordinator of "New Beginning: Christians Invite You to a Talk," Gert Köhnlein: "In the first phase, we ring peo[ple] up and ask if they would like to ha[ve] as a present one of our paperback b[ooks]. We have had 45,000 copies of this [book] specially produced for the project. In t[he] second phase, we ring up again all th[ose] who did order a book and invite them [to a] talk. The third and final phase compris[es] the talks themselves."

The idea for this variation on telepho[ne] marketing came from Switzerland a[nd] Finland. Two pilot projects were then ca[r]ried out, one in a Hamburg suburb and [the] other in Erlangen, after which the Eva[n]gelical parish of Alt Hamburg (Old Ham[burg]) felt itself equipped for the big ca[m]paign.

But there was a problem: the ot[her] Christian churches had to be won ov[er to] the idea.

Coordinator Köhnlein talks about [the] dangers of the project: "Sometimes [we] have to put the brakes on our volun[teer] workers when they develop a mission[ary] zeal. They can only ask people if th[ey] would be prepared to take part in a tal[k]. [If] the offer is rejected, our worker must [end] the conversation straight away and p[ut no] one under pressure."

Although the Evangelical Ch[urch] has lost 10,000 members a year in [Hamburg] since 1979, the project was n[ot a recruit]ing campaign. Nor was it an attempt to [win] members from other churches.

Köhnlein reports that at half time [...] per cent of people called had reacted p[osit]ively and wanted to get a copy of the b[ook]. He thought that there would be a[bout] 7,000 taking part in the talks. The co[st of] the project he put at about 300,000 m[arks].

It was important that the project [gave] strength to life within parishes. That [it was] happening confirmed one of the [...] 1,500 voluntary workers, Christel [...]: "[In] the past 14 days, we in the paris[h have] really come together. I have met so [many] nice, friendly people. And on all [the] phone calls, no one at all has been [...]"

Claus-Peter Tieman[n]

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 27 Febru[ary 1989])



■ OUR WORLD

Shared flats for the aged are a home and not just an institution

He was 67 when he went into a nursing home for the elderly. He had delusions, the result of his earlier experiences in a concentration camp.

He felt as if he were in prison in the home. To allay this the male nurses took him out with them into the nearby town as often as possible.

When he began to drink and eventually made a nuisance of himself to the other members of the home he was transferred to a psychiatric clinic.

Eight weeks later he was returned to the home and since then he has been under medical care three times.

Frau M. was 81 when, after a fractured thigh, she was transferred directly from the hospital to an old people's home. She cried a great deal. She missed her familiar surroundings.

After a course of massage and exercises she was soon again able to walk alone. When she began talking about going back to her home she was advised against doing so. In fact her daughter had given up the old lady's apartment some time previously.

Frau M. was obliged to remain in the home. She was sent to occupational therapy but she went downhill, mentally and physically.

One day she left the home and was knocked down by a car as she tried to cross the road. In hospital she died of her injuries.

These are two of the many cases which induced Rainer Kühl, 44, from Kassel to set up a society for a communal living project for elderly people, either physically sick or mentally disturbed.

In the project elderly people are not only cared for in the normal sense but given help to help themselves.

They live together in groups, order their own lives and perhaps at some point in time show that they can look after themselves at home again. They are not as helpless as some people would like to think.

The project is a new venture for Kassel. Similar projects have been introduced in Berlin, Bielefeld and Düsseldorf, however.

There are about 400,000 elderly people living in homes at present, and many of them, if they were allowed, could remain in their familiar surroundings.

Instead they live in a home, because they suffer from depression, for example, as do more than a third of the people over 70.

Kühl said that one out of three of these elderly people could live in a community or at home with appropriate therapeutic care.

He has come to this conclusion from his experience in dealing with elderly people, for he has been head of a large old people's nursing home for ten years.

During these ten years he has realised that many good intentions are just not realised, even in good homes. The conditions are too restrictive.

He said: "We just cannot fulfil many of the requirements which are important for their lives, requirements which seem so unimportant." This gives many who help the elderly a sense of helplessness.

There is a "loss of identity" in a home with lots of other people. The arrangements cannot be geared to the special needs of every old, lonely, sick or per-

Frankfurter Rundschau

haps dying person, who is probably close to being legally declared incapacitated in any event. This loss of identity can be degrading.

This can be care which perhaps robs those being cared for of their sense of independence; it makes them feel incapable and being unwanted.

More than a year ago Kühl took elderly people from "his home" and introduced them into a day-time community group he had set up in the country.

That these elderly people could for a few hours look after themselves has given them a great deal of pleasure and officials something to think about.

Sons and daughters were suddenly confronted with the fact that their agèd mother was suddenly active again, that she looked after vegetables and fruit in the garden again and was once more active in the kitchen.

The project in the country had to come to an end after nine months for lack of funds. But Kühl was not discouraged; he bought an old hotel on the outskirts of Kassel for his communal living project — "Haus Hüttenberg.".

He wants to prove there that people who had been certified as being in need of care, did not have to land up necessarily in a home.

Kühl's "Haus Hüttenberg" has accommodation for 24 men and woman, split up into six community groups. Sixteen senior citizens have already moved in.

But they will not be there for long. As the financial position has not been clarified, the home must be reduced to short-period care, for example the care of people who have had a stroke.

But the idea, which was originally devised for long-term occupants of the house, is still useful for short-period care.

Every group has six rooms, a kitchen, a common room and a budget with which food can be purchased, by the elderly people themselves as far as is possible.

All the occupants can within reason do what they are used to doing, even going as far as cooking their favourite dishes.

The elderly people are not treated as children and are expected to keep themselves clean and their rooms tidy — so long as they are physically able to do this without help.

There is a café in the house, open to everyone of the project members as well as the public, organised by the occupants themselves.

In this way many aims are achieved: the elderly people have meaningful things to do and the proceeds from the coffee and cakes come in useful.

Furthermore the café guarantees that all the people in the house are constantly in touch with the outside world.

The path Rainer Kühl and his society have taken is a difficult one. For instance, the finances for the maintenance of the house are not yet assured.

"Haus Hüttenberg" costs precisely DM67,500 per month, including the costs for eight staff members.

The rate for care for one day is DM92.30 per occupant. Officials responsible, however, only allow DM86.50 for a person in the house for short-period care.

The state welfare benefit association in Hesse, the organisation responsible for approving (higher) daily rates for care, regards the Haus Hüttenberg project as basically a praiseworthy venture, but some aspects are regarded with scepticism.

The welfare association is not too happy with the location — on the outskirts of the city with no shops nearby.

It is also worried about occupants who are in need of care or who will be in need of care at some time. Will they eventually be "pushed" into the traditional old people's home?

Rainer Kühl sees this differently. He said that it would be absurd to keep old people away from a home only to push then into one at a later date.

He said that elderly people who needed a lot of care should remain in the house and be cared for there — by the other people in the house and by trained staff taken on.

Officials have put up resistance to the project on financial grounds. The planning and building control department will not tolerate curtains in the entrance hall or carpets on the floor in the rooms.

They have in mind fire precautions when they want to have sterile, polished floors and tiled walls as is traditional in a home.

Officials from the health department are also up in arms and quote national contagious diseases legislation when there is mention of floor carpets.

Kühl calculates that the installation of fire-proof doors, changing from floor carpets to "hygenic" floor covering, constructing a second stairwell and other alterations, would swallow up DM250,000.

This is a lot of money for measures which are made necessary by old rules and which would harm the cosy, comfortable atmosphere of the house.

But Kühl's society is not prepared to let the project drop; the society, gnashing its teeth, intends to fulfil the conditions imposed by the officials.

In addition it will have discussions with the bank for the financing of the conversion costs and with the state welfare benefit association about the daily hospital and nursing charges.

While consideration is being given at Haus Hüttenberg as to how the house can be kept to its basic concept without cutbacks, the first occupants have moved in, men and women between 75 and 85, who are regarded as "cases for care."

They will learn there, close to Kassel's famous Hercules monument, how to live their lives again. This includes the routine things of life such as doing the housework and sweeping up the pavement in front of the house.

What pleases the senior citizens has caused indignation among others. Looking at an elderly person sweeping the pavement a pedestrian recently said: "So they let the old people do all the work."

Anne Riedel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 March 1989)

Continued from page 14

threatened when a minister's wife sought to fulfil herself in other fields outside church work.

Every change in values and norms of marriage was regarded by the church as an affront. This was, said Dr Elbach, why young marriages disintegrated. It also emerged that those ministers' marriages that remained intact over short and medium terms tended to be more durable than in the past. This was not only because that, over the years, the traditional biblical marriage had gradually changed into a partnership of two independent, loving people, but also because "unfaithfulness does not necessarily lead to the destruction of a marriage," according to the meeting.

Church leadership should, wished the ministers at Arnoldshain, take a hands-off approach to ministers' private activities. Dr Elbach said the church should desist from "pitting the soul against the body."

dpa

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 6 March 1988)

Ohm bicentenary

Continued from page 12

conductivity, which is the reciprocal of resistance, is known as the mho.

Thirty years later the attack on Ohm's resistance was carried out in an entirely different manner.

In 1911 a Dutch physicist, Heike Kamerlingh Onnes, discovered superconductivity, a means of transporting electric current without resistance or loss.

Onnes, who was awarded the 1913 Nobel Prize for physics, noted that the resistance of pure mercury vanishes at a temperature of about -270° C, but that this effect is offset even by weak magnetic fields in the vicinity.

Not until 1961, when superconductors made of materials that withstood powerful magnetic fields were developed, did superconductivity become a practical proposition.

The further the temperature at which resistance vanished was from absolute zero, or -273.15° C, the more practicable superconductors became.

Eighteen, later 23, degrees above zero were an advance that paved the way to high-tech developments such as nuclear spin tomographs in medicine, power station generators and magnetic particle accelerators.

There is now an international rush to apply for patents and develop promising new applications in metrology, information and energy technology.

It is a challenge that must be met by the combined efforts of a triad consisting of research, industry and the state.

In 1986 Karl Alexander Müller and Georg Bednorz came up with a fundamental improvement that earned them too a Nobel Prize: superconductivity using an oxide ceramic substance including copper, lanthan, barium and oxygen, with an operational temperature of between 30C° and 40° C above absolute zero.

Shortly afterward lanthan was replaced by yttrium (both are rare earths) in US experiments, reaching an operational temperature of 93° K, while early last year Japanese research scientists claim to have reached a temperature of 110° K.

They mixed bismuth, an element with which Ohm was familiar, in their ceramic substances. He used it to identify his law of electrical resistance, a law that has long ceased to encounter the intellectual and academic resistance that bedevilled it in his lifetime.

Eckart Klaus Roloff

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 March 1989)